John Gwennap,

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A GENERAL HISTORY OF SIEGES AND BATTLES, *By SEA and LAND*

CONTAINING,

A Particular and Circumſtantial Account

Of the moſt remarkable

Battles and Sieges, Bombardments and Expeditions,

In different Ages and Parts of the World;

And particularly, ſuch as relate to

GREAT BRITAIN and her Dependencies.

Including,

Anecdotes of the Lives, Military and Naval Tranſactions, of all the celebrated Admirals, Generals, Captains, &c. who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Service of their Country.

In which will be explained,

The MILITARY and NAVAL Terms of Art.

Embelliſhed with

PLANS of the Battles, and HEADS of the Illuſtrious Perſons, mentioned in the Courſe of the Work.

VOL. V. *firſt of the Modern Part.*

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J. Ellis Sculp.

BRITISH MUSEUM

CONTENTS.

A Dissertation on the Art of War.

PART. I.

Of the ARMY.

SECT. I.

Page.

A Short history of the origin and progress of the military art; particularly exercise —— 1
Of the art of war among the Greeks and Romans —— 2
Exercise of the Roman soldiers —— 3
What followed the invention of gunpowder 5
Of the first musquets —— 6
Introduction of bayonets —— 9
Of fuzileers —— ibid.
Of the Dutch exercise —— 12

Page.
Of the Pruſſian diſcipline —— 12
Of the Engliſh exerciſe —— 17

SECTION II.

OF a campaign and its operations 18
The firſt thing to be taken care of in a campaign —— —— ibid.
Of magazines —— 20
Of the march of an army —— 21
Of encamping —— 25
The different kinds of guards 28
Of convoys —— —— 29

SECTION III.

OF a battle —— 36
How to draw up an army —— 41
Precautions to be obſerved before and after a battle —— —— 42

SECTION IV.

OF the invention of gun-powder, the uſe of cannon, and a ſiege —— 45
Gun-powder, by whom invented ibid.
The firſt cannon —— 47
Of ſieges —— —— 48

SEC-

SECTION V.

Page.
OF ſecurity in the quarters and cantonments of an army —— 49
Principles of cantonments —— 50

A general hiſtory of Sieges and Battles.

CHAP. I.

OF the Britiſh wars till the Romans quitted the iſland —— 73
State of Britain under Auguſtus 74
Caligula's expedition againſt Britain 75
Claudius invades Britain —— 76
A battle between the Britons and Romans 78
Claudius comes again to Britain 80
The Britons defeated by the Romans 81
The Britons harraſs the Romans 82
The Romans gain great advantages 83
King Caractacus oppoſes the Romans 84
A battle between him and the Romans 86
Caractacus carried priſoner to Rome 87
His noble behaviour there —— ibid.
A battle between the Romans and Britons 88
The Silures oppoſe the Romans 89

Page.
The Britons defeated —— 91
Of the ill treatment of queen Boadicea by the Romans —— 92
The Romans take ſeveral places 93
The Britons defeated by the Romans 95
Agricola's wars with the Britons 97
A battle —— —— 100
The Caledonians and Picts make incurſions into the Roman province 102
The Caledonians defeat the Romans 103
Severus arrives in Britain —— 105
Carauſius aſſaſſinated in Britain 107
The Roman legions quit Britain 108
The Britons in vain implore the aſſiſtance of the Romans againſt the Picts 109
Some account of the wars on the continent during this period —— 110
A war between Vologes II. king of the Parthians and the Romans — ibid.
The Cteſiphon taken —— 112
The battle of Singarus between the Romans and Parthians —— 113
The ſiege of Niſibis —— 114
Surrendered by Jovian —— 117
Siege of Amida —— —— 118
The battle of Straſbourg 119, 121
Origin of the Germans (the note) ibid.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Page.
WARS during the uſurpation of the Saxons —— —— —— 124
Britain invaded by Scots and Picts 125
The Saxons called in —— 126
Conteſts between the Britons and Saxons 128
The Saxons make ſettlements in Britain 129
Cerdick, a Saxon king of Weſſex 130
The Saxons take the Iſle of Wight 131
The Britons apply to the Scots to aſſiſt them againſt the Saxons —— 133
Crida arrives in Britain with a large fleet and a great number of Angles ibid.
The Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, obtain a complete ſettlement in Britain, and give it the name of England 134
The Heptarchy —— ibid.
Egbert ſole king of England —— 135
The Danes invade England —— 137
The Danes make ſeveral deſcents upon the coaſts of England —— 138
A battle between the Engliſh and Danes 139
The Danes land and plunder Wincheſter 140
The Danes driven to their ſhips ibid.
The Danes return, and defeat the Engliſh —— —— 141
Several battles between the Danes and Engliſh —— —— 142
The Danes forced to conclude a treaty 143

The

Page.
The Danes return and gain ſeveral advantages, and put king Alfred to flight 144
King Alfred under the diſguiſe of a fidler gets into the Daniſh camp ——— 145
Marches againſt the Danes and defeats them ——— ——— ibid.
The Danes invade England again 146
Danes and Normans invade England 147
Alfred dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon Edward the Elder —— ibid.
Wars between Edward and the Danes 148
Edward dies and is ſucceeded by his ſon Athelſtan ——— ibid.
His wars with the Scots and Danes 149
Invades the Welſh ——— 150
Wars of Edmund king of England 151
Edmund killed and ſucceeded by his ſon Edred ——— — 152
Edgar, his great naval preparations 153
Kept eight kings in a ſtate of vaſſalage 154
The wars of Ethelred ——— 155
Oxford and Cambridge deſtroyed by the Danes ——— 157
A great fleet fitted out to oppoſe the Danes ——— 158
The Danes take Canterbury —— ibid.
Swain king of Denmark lands at Sandwich with a powerful army 159
Ethelred obliged to quit the kingdom 160
Returns to England —— ibid.
The Danes defeat the Engliſh —— ibid.

The

Page.
The wars of king Edmund, Ironſide 161
London beſieged by the Danes 162

CHAP. III.

Of the wars of England to William I. 163
Canute I. the Dane, king of England ibid.
War with the Vandals and Norwegians 164
A Welſh war 165
A battle between the Scots and Danes 166
The Danes defeated by Malcolm 167
Canute defeats the Norwegians 168
Harold I. king of England ibid
Griffith, ſon of Lewellyn, invades North-Wales 169
Defeats the Engliſh and Danes ibid.
Howel attacks Griffith 170
King Harold dies ibid.
Hardicanute invited over by the Engliſh ibid.
A combat between a German giant and an Engliſh dwarf 171
An inſurrection of the Engliſh 172
Fortify an iſland in the Severn 173
Worceſter deſtroyed ibid.
Edward the Confeſſor aſcends the throne of England 174
The Welſh attack the Engliſh borders ibid.
Remarkable death of earl Godwin 175
The king ſends an army to Scotland ibid.
An engagement with the tyrant Macbeth 176

Page.
Macbeth drove out of the kingdom 177
Malcolm put upon the throne of Scotland —— —— ibid.
The Welſh made an inroad into England —— —— ibid.
Harold II. ſucceeds king Edward 178
William the Norman, prepares to invade England —— ibid.
Toſton rebels againſt his brother Harold ibid.
Toſton and the king of Norway invade England —— —— 179
York beſieged —— ibid.
A battle between the invaders and Engliſh —— —— 180
Extraordinary valour of a Norwegian ibid.
Harold obtains a great victory over the invaders —— 181
William the Norman, ſends to demand the crown of England — ibid.
Harold's anſwer —— 182
William lands in Suſſex —— ibid.
Prepares for a battle —— 183
Famous battle of Haſtings —— 184
The Engliſh defeated, and Harold killed in battle —— 185
William beſieges Dover —— 186
The Londoners refuſe to receive him ibid.
William received into the city of London —— 187
Acknowledged king by all England ibid.

A DIS-

A DISSERTATION On the ART OF WAR.

PART. I.

Of the ARMY.

SECT. I.

A ſhort hiſtory of the origin and progreſs of the MILITARY ART; *particularly* EXERCISE.

EXERCISE is the rudiment of diſcipline, and, in all treatiſes on war, has a right to ſtand foremoſt; its importance claims the compliment; but we do not intend to deſcend into all the minute particulars of a ſoldier's exerciſe, only to treat, in this ſection, of exerciſe, and the uſe of arms

in general; ſo as to convey an idea to the unintelligent, and furniſh ſome information that may not be unpleaſing, to the military gentlemen themſelves.

No people, among the ancients, carried the art of war to a greater perfection, than the Greeks and Romans. Yet from the beſt authors who have treated on their diſcipline, we cannot find that they had what we call a manual exerciſe. The Grecian phalanx, the whole ſtrength of which, conſiſted in their being cloſely united, and in perfect order, required only that they ſhould be ſtrictly exact in their marching and evolutions; theſe were the chief points they attended to, and all that they practiſed in their exerciſe. Marſhal Saxe, ſuppoſes them to have marched in exact time, and cadence, to the ſound of their muſical inſtruments, a method which, he ſays, is at this time practiſed by the Pruſſians, and indeed his opinion is ſupported by a remarkable paſſage in Thucydides; in the account of the battle between the Lacedæmonians and Argives. "After this, the fight began, the Argives and their allies, moving on with great violence and fury; but the Lacedæmonians, deliberately, and to the ſound of ſeveral pipers, who were appointed by law; not on account of any religious ceremony, but that the ſoldiers, marching together, might make their attack uniformly, and not break their ranks."

The

The principal exercise of the Roman soldiers, collectively, seems to have consisted in practising the evolutions of the legion, and in marching at the rate of four or five English miles an hour; during these marches, they strictly kept their ranks; and were loaded with their armour, weapons, and other implements, which made up a very heavy burthen. Seperately, they were exercised in running, jumping, and swimming over rivers, when completely armed; but they esteemed above these, the great skill and dexterity in throwing the javelin, and the masterly use of the sword and shield. The Roman soldiers were enured to all sorts of hardships and severe labour, they were continually fortifying their camps, or making roads; and at sieges, they carried on such immense works, as must appear to us almost incredible. There was less of order and uniformity, among the Romans than the Greeks, and indeed if we were to compare what is, or might be, called the regularity of the Roman discipline, to that of the present times, it will appear a perfect confusion. However, in justice to the universally allowed valour and conduct of the Romans, it must be confessed that the lance, pike, the sword and shield, did not require that precision and uniformity, which fire arms do, neither did they admit of it; for with the weapons used by the Romans, every thing depended on the strength, valour, and skill

of the individuals, and every man was to exert himſelf according to his natural and acquired abilities, which are very unequal in different men; but with the fire-arms uſed now a-days, mankind are reduced almoſt to a level and it is firmneſs and perſeverance which muſt now gain a victory. Theſe are the reaſons why in ancient hiſtories we ſo frequently read of brave actions and feats, being *ſingly performed by particular heroes*; and in modern hiſtories, never; but we often in the accounts of the preſent war, hear of *whole bodies of men* ſignalizing themſelves, and being thanked for their firmneſs and diſcipline *.

After the downfal of the Roman empire, we find but very ſmall traces of military ſkill, among the barbarous nations who ſubdued it. If we may credit father Daniel, they in general fought without order or method, and each individual made uſe of whatever was his favourite weapon. The ancient French were fond of the hatchet, which they uſed as a miſſile weapon, throwing it in the ſame manner as the North American Indians do their's,

* Witneſs the battle of Minden, where ſix regiments of Britiſh infantry, unſupported, and for ſome time unaſſiſted, ſuſtained the whole weight of ſixty ſquadrons of the beſt horſe in the French ſervice; than which, a more glorious feat is not to be found in the records of time.

which

which they call *tomahawks* *. The Gaſcons and Genoeſe, excelled in the uſe of croſs bows †. The Swiſs are indebted for their glorious victories over the Auſtrians and Burgundians, to their ſtrength and ſkill in the uſe of the pike, halberd, and two-handed ſword ‡. And the immortal victories of Creſſy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, will tranſmit to lateſt poſterity, the valour and ſkill of the Engliſh archers. However, in all theſe wars, there was little, or no, uniformity obſerved, every man was left to perform according to his reſpective abilities.

The invention of gunpowder totally changed the manner of fighting, and conſequently the military diſcipline of all Europe. The Spaniards were the firſt who armed part of their foot with muſquets, and a lighter piece called harquebuzes, both of which they mixed with pikes. Other nations ſoon imitated them, but the Engliſh, even in the reign of queen Elizabeth, had not entirely laid aſide their favourite weapon the long bow, and taken to the general uſe of arms.

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* Procopius de Bello Goth. l. II. c. xxv.

† Pere Daniel hiſt. de la Mil. François tom. I. pag. 109 & 309.

‡ Guil. du Bellay diſc. Mil. c. iv.

The firſt muſquets, which by the old Engliſh writers, are called calivers, were very large and heavy, and could not be fired without a *reſt*; they had matchlocks, and barrels of a wide bore, that carried a large ball, and charge of powder, and did execution at a great diſtance. The matchlock was fired by a match fixed by a kind of tongs in the cock, which by pulling the trigger, was brought down with great quickneſs upon the priming in the pan; over which there was a ſliding cover, which was drawn back by the hand juſt at the time of firing. There was a great deal of nicety and care required, to fit the match properly to the cock, ſo as to come down exactly true on the priming, to blow the aſhes from the coal, and to guard the pan from the ſparks that fell from it; a great deal of time was alſo loſt in taking it out of the cock, and returning it between the fingers of the left hand, every time that the piece was fired; and wet weather often rendered the matches uſeleſs. However, moſt writers ſay, (and ſo did ſome of our old officers who are but lately deceaſed, who remembered the uſe of matchlocks) that they were very ſure, and not ſo apt to miſs fire, as the firelock: this would ſeem ſcarcely credible, if we did not allow that firelocks at firſt were not made ſo well as they are now. The firelock is ſo called, from producing fire of itſelf by the action of the flint and ſteel. The moſt ancient invention of

of this ſort, is the wheel-cock, made in Germany about the middle of the fifteenth century *. It was compoſed of a ſolid ſteel wheel, with an axis, to which was faſtened a chain, which by being wound round it, drew up a very ſtrong ſpring; on pulling the trigger, the ſpring, acting, whirled the wheel about with great velocity, and the friction of the edge of it (which was a little notched,) againſt the ſtone, produced the fire: the cock was made ſo as to bring the ſtone upon the edge of the wheel, part of which was in the pan, and touched the priming; they uſed any common hard pebble for that purpoſe, which ſerved as well as ſhot. Theſe cocks were extremely inconvenient; they took up much time to wind up, or ſpan, as they termed it, and ſometimes would not go off; an inſtance of which may be ſeen in Ludlow's account of his defence of Wardour caſtle †. This ſort of cock was uſed till within theſe hundred years, eſpecially for piſtols and carbines.

The ſoldiers who uſed muſquets at the time of their invention, and were therefore called muſqueteers, did not carry thoſe arms themſelves, but only their reſts and ammunition, they had boys to carry their muſquets after

* Collado's treatiſe on artillery, printed at Venice in 1586.

† Vid. Ludlow's memoirs, fol. pag. 35.

them, and on that account, were allowed an additional pay *. In loading they were very ſlow, as well by reaſon of the unweildineſs of their pieces, and carrying their powder and ball ſeparate, as the time taken up in adjuſting and preparing the match. Hence it may eaſily be imagined that their fire was nothing like ſo briſk as ours, yet the muſquet and reſt were uſed in England ſo late as the year 1640 †.

The many inconveniences attending the heavy match-lock muſquet, introduced another of a lighter kind, and the ſoldiers carried their ammunition in bandeliers, which were broad belts, that came over the ſhoulder, to which were hung ſeveral little caſes of wood covered with leather; they had a priming horn hanging by their ſide, and their balls they carried in a looſe pouch. Here it is proper to obſerve that the ſoldiers in action, put the bullets in their mouths that they might have them the more ready to drop into the piece, immediately after the powder; this is the reaſon why, in former capitulations, where a garriſon is allowed the honours of war, we ſo often find it ſtipulated, that they are to march out with matches

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* Pere Daniel hiſt. de la Mil. François, tom. 1. pag. 35.

† Bariffe's young artillery man, addreſſed to the militia of London in 1643.

lighted,

lighted, *ball in mouth*, &c. that is to say, in complete warlike posture, ready to defend themselves, and not like vanquished men; this expression is to be met with in some capitulations of a late date.

About the beginning of this century, all the European troops were armed with firelocks, and matchlocks were totally laid aside; bayonets, about the same time, were introduced, and pikes laid aside, but whether this latter change was for the better, is a disputed point among the best military writers, who are greatly divided in their opinions concerning it.

It is impossible to ascertain when or where the firelock that is now in use, was invented; about the middle of the last century, it is called by several writers *Snaphane*, or *Snaphance*; this is a Dutch word, and signifies a firelock, whence some people would infer that it is a Dutch invention, and that we borrowed it from them: probably it may be true, for Ward in his animadversions on war, (page 502.) gives us the exercise of the Snaphane carbine, which differs very little from the pieces now in use. The more modern writers call it a *fusee*, from the French word *fusil*; hence came *fuzileers*, a name that was given, and is still continued to some of our regiments, who were the first that were armed with them, on the disuse of matchlocks.

The abſolute neceſſity of regularity, never became ſo apparent, as when the uſe of fire arms began to be generally eſtabliſhed, they ſaw it was time to have done with confuſion and ſingularity, and they likewiſe ſaw that thoſe troops which could make the briſkeſt fire, and ſuſtain it longeſt, had a great ſuperiority over others leſs expert, and that the efficacy and power, did not conſiſt in random, and ſcattered ſhots made without order, but in the fire of a whole body of men at once, who were expert in their manœvre, and the fire properly timed and directed. In a word, every thing ſeemed to confirm the great neceſſity of learning the troops to load quick and fire together, by the word of command. Each action that was to be done with the muſquet, was taught the ſoldiers by ſimple motions, making a pauſe between each to make them exact in the performance of the whole; theſe ſimple motions the ſoldiers eaſily learned and remembered. This is the origin of what is called the manual exerciſe. The Spaniards were probably the inventors of it, as they were the firſt who made uſe of a muſquet, and their infantry at that time reckoned the beſt in Europe *. With this exerciſe, the troops appeared to ſuch advantage,

* Brantom. elog. du D. d'Albe & du M. Strozzi.

their

their motions ſo regular and beautiful, that it was ſoon copied by the other European nations. Father Daniel ſays, that the French learned the uſe of the muſquet from the Spaniards, and their exerciſe from the Dutch *, whoſe army, at that time in Flanders, under the command of prince Maurice of Naſſau, was reckoned the great ſchool of military knowledge, he was called the reviver of the diſcipline of the ancients, and his continual wars with the Spaniards, enabled him ſo much to improve, that he ſurpaſſed his maſters, but he was eclipſed by the great Guſtavus Adolphus, of Sweden, whoſe exploits were more brilliant, and ſucceſſes more rapid. The Swedes were the firſt that practiſed firing by two, or three, ranks at a time †; as Hudibraſs has it,

When over one another's heads,
They charge three ranks at once, like Swedes.

The platoon-firing by battalion, is a Dutch invention, but ſome § have ignorantly given it to Guſtavus Adolphus, and confounded

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† Hiſt. Mil. Fran. tom. 1. p. 277.

‡ Sir Robert Monro's memoirs; Bariffe's young artillery man, &c.

§ Life of Guſtavus Adolphus, lately publiſhed.

this with his method of poſting platoons of muſqueteers among his cavalry, which are things entirely different from each other.

After the death of Guſtavus, the Dutch exerciſe and diſcipline, became for ſome time the pattern for all Europe. At length, the amazing victories and wars of the Pruſſians having excited the admiration of other nations, moſt of them have reſolved to learn, or at leaſt to imitate, that wonderful military eſtabliſhment and diſcipline, which has made Frederic II. the preſent king of Pruſſia, the greateſt general of the world, and the prodigy of the age:—but he has owed his foundation of his fame to the puerile and ridiculous vanity of his father *.

No

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* Frederic William I. began the alteration and improvement of the Pruſſian diſcipline. He was a prince that might be properly called military mad, without any real military genius. His paſſion for tall men, was extravagant beyond belief; and to recruit his great uſeleſs regiment of giants, he ſpared no expence, although covetous to exceſs in his own diſpoſition; nor in order to inveigle, or kidnap a tall man, did his officers ſtick at fraud, or perfidy. His whole country was one great garriſon, every man who was handſome and had a fine perſon, was compelled to ſerve, even children were inliſted from their birth, and their parents were accountable for them to the regiment to which they were allotted.

No ſtronger prooof can be given of the ſuperior excellency of the Pruſſian diſcipline, to that

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lotted. But as his troops were to him what dolls are to children, or ornamental china to the ladies, not for uſe, but amuſement or parade, and his whole pleaſure and employment was the adjuſting of their dreſs and accoutrements, which he would do with his own hands, and the exerciſing and reviewing them; he never choſe to expoſe them to the danger and fatigue of war:—perhaps he was afraid they would all deſert. All this, added to the particularity, and even finicalneſs in their dreſs and appearance, cauſed them in his life-time to be looked upon as mere puppets, fit only for ſhew, and they and their diſcipline were ridiculed by all the military men in Europe. Beſides his paſſion for tall men, he had a great fondneſs for broad faces; in order therefore that his ſoldiers might appear to the utmoſt advantage in theſe two points, and not without a view to œconomy, he cauſed their coats to be made ſo very ſhort, that they barely reached half way down their thighs; and ſo ſcanty in the body and ſleeves, that they could ſcarce put them on; their breeches reached ſcarcely to their knees, and their hats were ſo ſmall as hardly to cover their heads, ſo that they were obliged to have a contrivance to pin them on, for fear of their falling off when they were exerciſing. Their hair was all queüed back, and powdered, with only two ſmall curls on each ſide of

that of other nations, than this ſingular but true aſſertion, that ſometimes repulſed and defeated, they have never been totally routed nor put to flight. They are like the Spartans, of whom Xenophon ſays in his treatiſe on the Lacedæmonian common-wealth (after ſpeaking highly of their military ſkill and diſcipline) that what he had already mentioned,

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of the face; to this was added ſquare-toed ſhoes, with high heels; a long ſword with a broad blade, worn very high on the hip; and white garters, which as well as the waiſtcoat and breeches, (that were generally white alſo) were continually chalked to keep them clean; for the leaſt ſpeck of dirt on any of them, was puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. Theſe peculiarities, added to a ſort of uprightneſs and ſtiffneſs in their air and motions, made them indeed look very much like puppets. But the preſent king retrenched theſe abſurdities, and with the advantage of that ſtrictneſs of diſcipline, and exact obedience, to which his troops were broken and habituated, he heſitated not with theſe puppets of parade, as marſhal Saxe calls them, to attack the veteran troops of Auſtria at Molwitz, where they performed all the neceſſary duties with firmneſs and regularity, equal to the beſt corps whatever. (*Mar. Saxe, mem. ſur l'infanterie, page* 5.) This is a ſtrong proof that what is abſurd and contemptible in the hands of a little genius, becomes great and formidable in thoſe of a prince of ſublime underſtanding and ſuperior talents.

was

was eaſy to comprehend, but that how the Spartans ſhould be able even after being put into diſorder, to maintain their ground againſt the enemy, was not eaſily to be underſtood but by thoſe who had been trained up under the laws of Lycurgus.

The late king of Pruſſia, Frederic William, was the firſt who altered and improved the manual exerciſe: he cauſed the motions to be performed cloſe to the body, which enabled his troops to go through all the exerciſe with their files in cloſe order, in the ſame manner as in real action; the motions being done with great quickneſs and life, allowing good time between each, and with the greateſt harmony and uniformity imaginable, a whole battalion appeared as one body, moved by a ſpring; which had a ſurpriſing effect. But the part of the exerciſe that he moſt improved, was the firing and loading, which he greatly ſhortened, retrenching, or changing, all ſuch motions aswere not abſolutely neceſſary, and at the ſame time the ſhorteſt and quickeſt poſſible. He alſo introduced iron ram-rods, ſecured from falling out by a ſpring in the tail-pipe; which not being liable to be broken by their weight, rendered the ramming down the charge much eaſier and more certain. By theſe means, he taught his troops to fire with a quickneſs, that no one could have conceived poſſible to be attained to, not leſs than five, or ſix,

times

times in a minute. He likewiſe improved their method of marching, bringing it, as it were, to a muſical time and cadence; by which he enabled them to perform their wheelings and evolutions with a celerity and accuracy that was till then unknown. In ſhort, as his whole life was ſpent in this ſort of ſtudy, and the thoughts and converſation of his court and officers, turned on nothing elſe; and every body who could hint at any new improvement, either for uſe, or elegance, was ſure of making his court agreeable to the monarch; it is no wonder he ſucceeded ſo well, and that the Pruſſian exerciſe is ſo much admired, as to have been copied more or leſs by moſt nations; though every one has added to, or altered it in ſome meaſure. We muſt be leſs ſurpriſed at this, when we conſider that the firſt compoſer of it had nothing ſo much at heart, as to make his troops ſhew to advantage, and make a figure on the parade; and therefore often attended more to the brilliant effect of a motion, though difficult, than to eaſe and ſhortneſs; and indeed there are many parts of the Pruſſian exerciſe, (ſuch as, for inſtance, the planting the feet ſtrong whenever they move them) which if not performed with that perfect unanimity, and exactneſs of time, that the Pruſſians obſerve, and which perhaps no other troops in the world have attained to, have a very bad effect, and are deformities rather than beauties.

ties. For this reaſon, every nation has compoſed an exerciſe of its own, taken in ſome meaſure from that of the Pruſſians; but varied and altered according to the different opinions and judgment of thoſe officers who had the direction of it in each country. The king of France, ſome years ago, cauſed ſeveral of his principal officers to compoſe every one an exerciſe, and to teach it a detachment of his troops, allotted to each for that purpoſe; and the late marſhal Saxe, was commiſſioned to review the ſeveral detachments and to give his opinion which deſerved the preference; he gave his opinion to that which was moſt like the Pruſſian. We alſo in England, about the year 1757, had a new manual exerciſe introduced among the troops; which is now generally followed, and called Pruſſian, but reſembles it only in the cloſeneſs of the motions, and in the firing and loading part, being ſhortened and rendered capable of being performed much quicker than in the old exerciſe. Thus we ſee that in exerciſe, like moſt other matters, men do not unite in opinion, and determine generally which way is beſt; and our officers, as well as thoſe of other nations, having thought fit to make alterations and vary from the Pruſſian exerciſe, which for ſome reaſons before mentioned, one would imagine ought naturally to be the moſt perfect.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Of a Campaign, and its Operations *.

THE firſt and principal thing which a commander in chief ſhould look to, is a thorough knowledge of the country in which he is going to act; particularly the exact ſituation of all the cities, towns, villages, foreſts and rivers, without which the beſt laid plans have often proved unſucceſful; theſe he may acquire by ſtudying the beſt geographical maps. He ſhould likewiſe know, with the greateſt certainty, the nature of the ground, whether it is plain, or divided by hollows, hills, &c. theſe he may acquire by ſtudying topographical maps; but, as it is impoſſible for maps to explain every particular which a general ought to know, ſuch as fords, depth of rivers and hollows, aſcents of hills, &c. he ſhould apply to the inhabitants of the country, and get over to him the moſt intelligent, with whom he ſhould conſult, and remark to them every obſtacle, though ever ſo trifling. Theſe peaſants ought to be formed into a company of guides, and the general ſhould attach them to him by an

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* Count Turpin.

unbounded

unbounded liberality; parſimony, in war, ought always to be avoided; detachments ought to be ſent out with the guides; and thus every piece of information may be obtained, and the general directed in all his inquiries. But, that he may be certain of the truth of theſe reports, he ſhould ſometimes ſend out other detachments, commanded by officers of known fidelity: miſtruſt in common life, is reckoned a vice, but, in the buſineſs of war, it is a virtue. It is impoſſible to explain all the benefits and advantages ariſing from a thorough, minute, and accurate knowledge of the country. The following is a general rule, "That it is upon the ground, and not upon maps, that roads through which an army is to march muſt be examined, as well as the ſituation of places where camps are to be fixed, and fields of battle choſen. An army ſhould never move before ways are opened for every column; with regard to a detachment is is different, as there may circumſtances ariſe which will prevent the general from foreſeeing what road it may take. The command of a detachment ſhould always be given to an intelligent officer, one who has made his buſineſs his only ſtudy; who hath been particularly careful to acquire a knowledge of the country, and of whoſe genius, the general ſhould entertain no doubt. A particular choice ſtirs up emulation in young men, and induces them

them to exert their utmoſt endeavours to deſerve ſo diſtinguiſhing a mark of approbation." Every private officer cannot do better than employ all his leiſure, and every opportunity in acquiring a knowledge of the country, becauſe he is to execute in part, what the general performs with the whole. In retreats, a knowledge of the country is more eſſential than in any one thing beſides, becauſe there is more art and precaution required in a retreat, than in any other action. The retreat of Xenophon, with ten thouſand Greeks, of marſhal Belleiſle from Prague, in 1742, and of the king of Pruſſia from Olmutz, in 1758, are admirable leſſons for every commander to ſtudy; they were effected, principally, by a thorough knowledge of the country.

The general ſhould take care before he opens the campaign, that the magazines be properly and conveniently formed according to exigences, and in this he ſhould not always truſt to the intendant, but mark their ſituation himſelf, ſee that they are well ſecured, that there be good roads round them, and the communication with them well guarded, that there be not any danger of the convoys not arriving in ſafety; their diſtance ſhould not be great, for it is ill policy to let the troops go far to fetch the forage. As much proviſion as poſſible ſhould be laid in during the winter, that no inconveniences may

may ariſe by waiting till forage is on the ground, and thereby retard the operations of the army. In order to begin the campaign as early as poſſible, the troops, when they quit their winter quarters, are often ordered to march into others of cantonment. Theſe latter, are properly nothing more than a halting place, where the troops remain till all the forage is collected, or the ſeaſon permits them to take the field. A general will always find his advantage in encamping as early as poſſible, in getting the ſtart of his enemy, the longer the better, and beginning the campaign by any operation before his adverſaries are aſſembled. Here it is proper to remark, that an army commanded by one general who receives orders from only his ſovereign, or the unanimous council of one ſtate, will always be in a condition to take the field ſooner than a combined army, in which the troops of every nation has a ſeparate commander, who follows the inſtructions he receives from his prince, which oftener tend more to ſuit his ſovereign's whim, or perſonal intereſt, than to promote the general good.

When an army quits its quarters of cantonment to begin a march, its ſituation then becomes critical, and more dangerous than if drawn up in order of battle, becauſe a ſoldier not ſeeing his enemy is not ſo much upon his guard. There are three ſorts of countries

countries which may become the Theatre of war, viz. an open one, a woody one, and a mountainous one. In an open country, few precautions are neceſſary; the general may take what road he pleaſes *, he may march acroſs the country, by cutting down the hedges, filling up the ditches, levelling the ridges, &c. If the enemy is at a diſtance, he may divide his army into what number of columns he pleaſes †: though a general in an open country is almoſt free from danger, yet it is very imprudent for him to ſuppoſe that he is entirely ſo; negligence in any military operation is the worſt of evils, and eſpecially on a march: a good general will never fear his enemy when he ſees him, but when he is out of ſight, he ſhould always apprehend the worſt and be prepared. With reſpect to a march in a woody, or mountainous country, particular rules would be merely conjectural, becauſe a general muſt always depend upon circumſtances, it is the ſituation and nature

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* Having ordered it to be reconnoitred, and the place where he intends to encamp.

† But if the enemy is near, the army muſt be ſo diſpoſed as to form the line of battle in a very ſhort time, and be able to take an advantageous or at leaſt a favourable poſition for action on the firſt ſignal. At all times, detachments of cavalry ſhould guard the front and flanks.

of

of the country, the number of troops, the nearneſs of the enemy, the facility of forage, and the paſſes of which the enemy is poſſeſſed, that ought to determine him. Whatever the diſpoſition of the troops is, they ſhould always be in order, and able to ſupport each other, the flanks ſhould be well guarded, the fronts ſecured, and whatever the nature of the country is, all the troops ſhould arrive at the camp at the ſame time. Halting in all difficult marches ſhould be avoided, for they denote that an army is much fatigued. Detachments of choice men, commanded by vigilant officers, ſhould ſcour the hedges, woods, and paſſes, and poſſeſs the heights and villages. Some brigades of infantry ſhould be placed at the head of each column, the artillery muſt follow, the cavalry next, eſcorted by infantry, and laſtly, the remainder of the cavalry which may diſmount, and ſuſtain the rear guard in caſe it is attacked. The reaſon of the artillery's following the infantry, is if the enemy ſhould attack briſkly in front, and the road is broad enough, ſome cannon may be ſent to the front, which firing with grape ſhot, will thin the enemy's ranks, and check his ſpirit. If the road is too narrow, reſolution muſt ſupply the want of cannon, and the ſoldiers muſt charge with their bayonets, with which they have an equal advantage with the enemy, who cannot make a larger front than themſelves,

ſelves. If the general is inferior in numbers, he ought to chooſe defiles, becauſe in them he can always preſent a front equal to the enemy. The cavalry ſhould keep the open country as much as they can, and they ſhould avoid the defiles and woods, becauſe in neither of theſe can they be of any ſervice.

The marches that require moſt precaution are thoſe made in the night, thoſe made in ſight of the enemy, and thoſe that ſhould be kept ſecret. The firſt ſhould be avoided as much as poſſible, in a mountainous country, becauſe the ſoldier's fear magnifies the danger he cannot ſee, and renders thoſe marches extremely difficult and dangerous. The ſecond can only be regulated by the circumſtances which every officer of experience, who has made the art of war his ſtudy, will know how to improve: he muſt have recourſe to ſtratagems, feint marches and counter-marches. Some generals by an artful arrangement of their troops, have ſo multiplied them in the eyes of the people, that though inferior, they have ſeemed ſuperior. It is likewiſe impoſſible to lay down rules for ſecret marches; it is by his addreſs that a general will improve circumſtances; it is by art and contrivance that he will evade the enemy's vigilance, and deceive his ſpies; but if it is impoſſible to deceive the enemy, and if circumſtances render ſtratagems ineffectual for con-

concealing the march, then all poſſible care muſt be taken: any, even the moſt trifling, thing, may cauſe a diſcovery; the neighing of horſes, the light of a pipe, the noiſe of the arms, &c. during the night; and in the day, the duſt, and the ſunſhine glittering upon the arms. During the marhces, all theſe inconveniences muſt be guarded againſt as much as poſſible, by recommending ſilence to the men, while in woods and paſſes; by leaving the horſes and mares behind, if they neigh to each other, and alſo every thing that can contribute to noiſe. If the enemy is in poſſeſſion of a paſs from which he cannot be diſlodged, then feints and ſtratagems muſt be uſed, art and force muſt be employed by turns, blended together as often as neceſſary. Onozander the Greek general, ſet fire to a wood at the foot of a mountain, which was in the enemy's poſſeſſion, and which he wanted to go over; the ſmoke and the flames forced the enemy to abandon it, and leave the paſſage free for him. As the ſoldiers feet frequently become ſore by marching, linnen ſocks dipped in oil ſhould be uſed, for nothing preſerves the feet better, and no ſtockings ought to be worn under the ſpatterdaſh.

A general ſhould employ all his judgment in taking an advantageous poſition for his army, and in making choice of a ſpot that by its ſituation is ſtrongly fortified, in order to eſtabliſh a camp within diſtance of marching

eaſily to the enemy, and without fear of being moleſted by him, or at leaſt to be guarded againſt ſuch a poſſibility. Great care ought to be taken, that the wings be properly ſheltered, and every part both before and behind, ſhould be covered by detachments, and whether the country be open, or mountainous, the army ſhould never encamp but where wood, water, and forage are within reach. A camp ſhould never be formed on the banks of a river, becauſe in that ſituation, there is not ſpace enough for the army to draw up in order of battle, in caſe of an emergency, nor where there is any poſſibility of the enemy blocking up the avenues to it, for a communication ſhould be preſerved with ſome place, to prevent the enemy foraging too near the camp, and to poſt guards at convenient diſtances to prevent ſurpriſe. The cavalry is to encamp neareſt the woods, if there be any, that they may have time to mount in caſe of an alarm. The camp of the horſe is covered by that of the foot, but if the foot are ſo weak that they cannot cover the horſe, they are then to encamp on that ſide that is moſt expoſed to the enemy. If the enemy be ſtronger in horſe, and the general apprehends the camp may be attacked, he muſt cut ditches and trenches in their way, to prevent their charging in good order, and to gain an opportunity for the foot to engage upon an advantage; but if the enemy be ſtronger in foot,

foot, the general ſhould encamp on the edge of a plain, that the horſe may draw up there and the enemy's foot be afraid to engage, where they can have no advantage againſt the horſe. When an army encamps for any time, it frequently entrenches; in this caſe the manner of encamping is according to the entrenchment which is on the higheſt ground round the camp, provided it be not at too great a diſtance †.

† But ſometimes it is dangerous to fight in theſe intrenchments, for the ſoldiers placing all hopes in their ſtrength, are often ſtruck with a panic whenever they are forced in any part, and abandon them with precepitation, an inſtance of which happened to the Pruſſians in 1757, when the Auſtrians determined to force the intrenchments of the Prince of Bevern, in Sileſia, "About noon, the Auſtrians made two violent and unſucceſsful aſſaults; but the third, more intrepid than the former, forced the Pruſſians from the exterior lines, who thereupon retreated to others, which they had made interior. The Auſtrians perceiving this, and conſidering the prodigality of their ſlaughter all at once, ceaſed the attack; during this ſuſpenſion, the Pruſſians were ſeized with a chimera, apprehending their dernier intrenchment would be forced in the night, and therefore, while the Auſtrians ſtood infatuated, they abandoned their intrenchments, and retreated." Vid. *A review of the reign of* GEORGE II. pag. 192. *ſecond edit.*

When the army is encamped, and the enemy not very near, an eighth part of the army is generally upon guard, and diſpoſed according to the eaſineſs, difficulty, or the conſequence of the avenues for the guard of horſe. During the day-time, if the enemy be feared but one way, one half, or two thirds of thoſe that mount guard ſhould be poſted on that ſide, about a quarter of a league from the camp, or further if it be an open country;- about an eighth part ought to be detached from that guard ſeven, or eight, hundred paces further upon an eminence, if there be any, which ſmall guard muſt detach one, or two, vedets to be poſted on the moſt advantageous ground for diſcovery. All guards are to be ſo poſted that the main guard may not be cut off from the camp, nor the ſmall guards from the greater †.

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† There are ſeveral kinds of guards, as, 1. The *Advanced Guard*, is a party of horſe, or foot, which marches before a corps to give notice of approaching danger. When an army is upon the march, the grand guard which mounts that day, ſerves as an advanced guard to the army. A ſmall body of fifteen, or twenty horſe, commanded by a lieutenant, beyond, but within ſight of the main, or before the grand, guard of the camp, are alſo called the advanced-guard. 2

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The conducting of convoys is one of the moſt difficult, and important of all the military

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The *Grand Guard* conſiſts of three, or four, ſquadrons of horſe, commanded by a field officer, and poſted before the camp on the right and left wing, towards the enemy, for the ſecurity of the camp. 3. The *Quarter Guard*, is a ſmall guard commanded by a ſubaltern officer, and poſted by every battalion of a camp, one hundred yards before its front. 4. The *Standard Guard*, is a ſmall guard of foot, which a regiment of horſe mounts in their front under a corporal. 5. The *Main Guard*, from which all the other guards are detached; thoſe who are to mount the main guard, meet at the reſpective captain's quarters, and from thence go to the parade, where, after the whole guard is drawn up, the ſmall guards are detached for the poſts and magazines; and then the ſubaltern officers draw lots for their guards, and are commanded by the captain of the main guard. 6. The *Picquet Guard*, which is a number of horſe and foot who keep themſelves in readineſs in caſe of an alarm; the horſes being ſaddled, and the riders booted all the while; the foot draw up at the head of the battalion, at the beating of the tatoo, but afterwards return to their tents, where they remain in readineſs to march on a ſudden alarm; this guard is to make reſiſtance in caſe of an attack, till the army can get ready. A vedet, is a centinel on horſeback, detached from the main body of the

tary operations. The commander muſt diſtribute his troops in ſuch a manner, that they ſhal

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army, to diſcover and give notice of the enemy's deſigns.

If the country is incloſed, the main guard muſt be ſo near the camp that it cannot be cut off, but yet at ſuch a diſtance, that if the enemy appears, they may give timely notice; and to prevent the army being ſurpriſed, they muſt ſend little guards of two, or three, hundred horſe, on the right and left, who muſt poſt vedets for their ſecurity. The commander ought from time to time to viſit the advanced guard and vedets; and the time of the guard ought to be ſo divided in relieving them, that every man in his turn may be upon the advanced guard, who are not to diſmount, except in a very open place, and then the horſes muſt not be unbridled. The main guard may unbridle half their horſes, but the other half muſt remain in readineſs. Scouts muſt always be conſtantly employed in going about; ſome ſtrait forward, others a-croſs from one ſmall guard to another, to take care that the enemy do not ſlip in between. When the main guard is ordered, the reſt of the cavalry ought to be divided into two, or three, other guards, to be diſpoſed about the camp; and they may be ſtronger, or weaker, as there is occaſion.

The guards of foot are generally at the head of their own battalions, but if there be a ſteeple, tower, or ſtrong houſe, near the camp, a guard of foot

ſhall be a mutual aſſiſtance to each other. The nature of the country can only determine

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foot muſt be ſent to it; ſo likewiſe, if there be any paſs upon a river, or deep valley about half a mile, or leſs, from the camp, and the country be not much incloſed, a guard of foot muſt be ſent there at night only. If the paſs be at a greater diſtance, ſome foot muſt be ſent, ſupported by a guard of horſe; but if the place be too dangerous for the foot, a few horſe may be ſent to inform of the enemy, or ſcouts may be ſent thither often. Every regiment ought to ſend fifty men, if its ſtrength will admit, who are to be every night upon guard at the head of the camp, commanded by a captain and lieutenant, if there be cauſe to fear any thing.

When the major-general appoints the guard for the day, he ſhows the place where they are to retire to, which is generally within two, or three, hundred yards of the camp. He is to viſit them once in a night, to ſee if they are poſted according to his orders; that is, whether all the officers are there, and their number be complete; whether the detached guards are on horſeback,—and half the main guard, and the reſt in their ranks, with their horſes bridled: whether the neceſſary number of vedets be poſted for the ſecurity of the camp, and whether, from time to time, they ſend out their ſcouts, who are to be ſent from one vedet to another, when there is a poſſibility that the enemy may ſtep in between the

tary operations. The commander must distribute his troops in such a manner, that they shal

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army, to discover and give notice of the enemy's designs.

If the country is inclosed, the main guard must be so near the camp that it cannot be cut off, but yet at such a distance, that if the enemy appears, they may give timely notice; and to prevent the army being surprised, they must send little guards of two, or three, hundred horse, on the right and left, who must post vedets for their security. The commander ought from time to time to visit the advanced guard and vedets; and the time of the guard ought to be so divided in relieving them, that every man in his turn may be upon the advanced guard, who are not to dismount, except in a very open place, and then the horses must not be unbridled. The main guard may unbridle half their horses, but the other half must remain in readiness. Scouts must always be constantly employed in going about; some strait forward, others a-cross from one small guard to another, to take care that the enemy do not slip in between. When the main guard is ordered, the rest of the cavalry ought to be divided into two, or three, other guards, to be disposed about the camp; and they may be stronger, or weaker, as there is occasion.

The guards of foot are generally at the head of their own battalions, but if there be a steeple, tower, or strong house, near the camp, a guard of foot

ſhall be a mutual aſſiſtance to each other. The nature of the country can only determine

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mine what ſort of troops he ought to have. In mountainous and woody countries, only infantry, and light horſe, can be made uſe of, who are to ſcour the woods in front and flanks, examine the avenues, and make ſure of the defiles; in an open country, the eſcort ſhould be compoſed of infantry, cavalry, light horſe, and dragoons; but whatever is the nature of the country, the convoy ought never to advance till it has been well reconnoitred, and even to a conſiderable diſtance. In a mountainous country, a large body of cavalry cannot act, and they would be an embarraſſment; but in an open one, they are

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vedets; or elſe the vedets, being coupled, as they ought always to be at night; one of them goes as far as the others on the right, and when he returns, his comrade goes as far as the others on the left, and thus they continue all night. Scouts are alſo going continually about the camp from one guard to another.

The guard of an intrenched camp is quite different; the intrenchment is divided among all the foot, who poſt centinels on it, ſo that there may be no paſſing between any two of them; and the guard of horſe is weaker than when the camp is open. It is poſted within the intrenchment in two, or three, bodies, near the barriers that are upon the great avenues, and only ſends a ſmall guard fifty paces without the lines, who continually patrol, and ſend out ſcouts on the right and left, and ſtrait forwards.

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ſerviceable. In any country where an enemy can make uſe of his infantry, a convoy may be eſcorted by infantry only; in open countries the infantry ought to be ſupported by cavalry; but in mountainous ones, the infantry can carry on war alone. If in this latter country, the enemy forms an attack, it is moſt probable, that it will be on ſome one part of the convoy; his deſign in this, is to draw the whole ſtrength of the detachment to that part, in order to give another body of his troops which are concealed in ambuſh, an opportunity for falling with eaſe upon that part of the convoy that is unprovided with troops, and which will of courſe not be able to make any defence; therefore the troops of the center ought never to march to the aſſiſtance of the advanced guard if it is attacked; nor thoſe of the rear-guard to the aſſiſtance of the center; but a party from thoſe troops which cover the flanks of the convoy, ought to be collected into a body, and ſent to aſſiſt that part which is attacked. No troops are of ſo much uſe, in the eſcorting of convoys, as light horſe, becauſe they ſcamper about on all ſides, and are the moſt active in ſcouring a country thoroughly, therefore no convoy ought to be without a good number of them. When a convoy marches through an open country, the advanced and rear guards, ought to be cavalry, ſupported by infantry; the infantry in the

center ſhould be continued on the right and left of the waggons, and the cavalry, divided into troops, ſhould be diſtributed on the flanks at ſome diſtance from the infantry; ſquadrons of horſe, intermixed with platoons of infantry, ſhould be placed at proper diſtances on the flanks of the remaining part of the convoy. By this poſition, if the convoy ſhould be attacked in front, rear, or center, theſe ſquadrons and platoons will be ready to give aſſiſtance. The huſſar's will give notice of the enemy's coming to attack, upon which the waggons muſt be parked, and the troops united; the infantry muſt form in the park and the cavalry poſted on the front of that flank, which the enemy are coming to attack; the huſſars are to be placed on the flanks of the cavalry. The attack on a convoy is always ſudden and rapid, and the ſucceſs is generally determined by the firſt onſet, for whether the enemy ſucceeds, or not, he muſt retire with great expedition, for fear of any ſuccour that may arrive; hence it is evident, the attack can only be made by huſſars, dragoons, or cavalry; it is true there are ſome inſtances of the cavalry's carrying infantry behind them. If the convoy has had time to park itſelf, the effort of the enemy's infantry can only be turned againſt that which is intrenched behind the waggons. The enemy's cavalry, and that belonging to the eſcort attacking each other, will fight upon equal terms;

terms: but the infantry that is ſheltered by the waggons, will have a great advantage, over that which attacks it. On the contrary, if the enemy's infantry is ſuſtained by huſſars only, they will be briſkly attacked by the cavalry, and huſſars belonging to the eſcort, who will take them in flank and rear. The enemy's huſſars being hemmed in, his infantry, for want of being ſuſtained, will eaſily be beaten. If the enemy gives ground, the general ſhould be very cautious of purſuing him too far, leſt, if he ſhould receive a reinforcement; the troops in purſuit being at too great a diſtance, will not only be beaten, but deprived of retreating.

It might be expected, that, under this head, we ſhould treat of many other operations, but it is not our intention to deſcend into the moſt minute parts, nor would the room allotted for this diſſertation admit them. But if the reader is diſpoſed to proſecute this ſtudy, he will do well to conſult Count Turpin's *Art of war*, 2 vols. quarto, tranſlated by Capt. Otway.

SECTION III.

Of a battle.

THE moſt important operation in war is a battle, every other, during a campaign, is preparatory to it, or conſequent of it; therefore a general cannot take too many precautions before he proceeds to this laſt extremity, and, above all, he ſhould weigh well, and conſider whether he can gain greater advantage by winning a battle, than he will ſuſtain damage by loſing it.

The reaſons, according to M. Feuquieres *, which ſhould induce a general to give battle, are his ſuperiority over the enemy, both in the number and quality of troops; the enemy's incapacity, his ill-choſen encampments and negligent marches; the neceſſity of ſuccouring a place; or the certainty of a reinforcement, by the junction of which the enemy will become ſuperior; or circumſtances which may change the original deſigns of the campaign †.

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* Chap. 8. de ſes Mem.

† This was the reaſon which induced Turenne in 1674 to give the battle of Einſheim, becauſe

Montécuculli * has given the following reaſons for avoiding a battle, viz. When the loſs of it will be more prejudicial than the gaining, it will be advantageous; when inferior to the enemy, or when ſuccour is expected; when the enemy has the advantage of the ground; when it is perceived the army is working its own ruin, either by the fault, or diviſion, of the commanders, or through the diſagreement of confederates.

Never is there a greater neceſſity for a general's knowing the ground, than on the day of battle; he ſhould not only be particularly acquainted with every part of his own, but he ſhould as minutely know that of his adverſary's; in what manner his wings are ſupported, the nature of the places where theſe ſupports are; whether he can be ſurround-

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cauſe the prince of Bournonville waited the arrival of the elector of Brandenbourg, who was coming to join him with a conſiderable reinforcement; and if he had not given battle before that junction, the enemy's army would have been greatly ſuperior to his, *Mem. de Turenne.*—On this principle, marſhal de Noailles attacked king George II. at Dettingen, in 1743. While he was on his march, to effect a junction with 12,000 Hanoverians and Heſſians, who were waiting for him at Hanau. *Review of the reign of* GEORGE II.

* Mem. liv. 2. ch. 6. art. 2.

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ed, and in what part he can be attacked with the greateſt facility. But however eſſential theſe branches of knowledge may be, it is not always the ſuperiority of numbers, or quality of the troops, or advantage of ground, that will ſecure the beſt diſpoſed army from being routed: it is the *foreſight* of the general in the precautions he has taken before the battle; it is *his* genius, *his* activity, *his* coolneſs in the time of action, and the capacity of the general officers acting under him, that determine the ſucceſs *. He muſt

* How great then ſhould be a general's caution, how extenſive his knowledge, how penetrating his intellects, when ſo much depends on *him alone!* Battles, ſays Montécuculli, beſtow and take away crowns; from their deciſions princes cannot appeal; by them war is put an end to, and the name of the conqueror immortalized.

The importance of the operation will not bear to be ſported with, therefore a general ſhould never, through caprice, a miſtaken courage, or a deſire of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, give battle at an improper time. He ſhould by no means ſuffer himſelf to be forced to a battle, neither ſhould he offer it, but when there is a real neceſſity for it, and even when he gives battle, it ſhould be rather with an intention of ſaving, than ſhedding blood; more with the view of aſſerting the rights of his maſter, and the glory of his country, than of

muſt be capable of forming new ſchemes in order to render thoſe of the enemy abortive; he ſhould alſo take care, whatever may be the nature of the country, to diſpoſe his army after ſuch a manner as to render it equally ſtrong in every part, and that each body may protect and aſſiſt one another without confuſion; that the intervals neceſſary for acting are well preſerved, and that the reſerve can

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of oppreſſing mankind. It is in theſe moments, which decide the fate of nations, that the genius and prudence of a general ought to be conſpicuous; he ſhould at the ſame time, ſee what is doing among his own, and the enemy's, troops. As it would not be prudent in him always to purſue his own opinion only, it being impoſſible for one man to ſee every thing. He ſhould cauſe an exact account to be given him, of whatever he cannot have an opportunity of ſeeing perſonally; to inform himſelf by ſpies, of the enemy's order of battle, and act in conſequence of that knowledge: he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of all places capable of containing ambuſcades, which he ought to have examined, if poſſible, ſome days before the battle. Infinite is the number of precautions which ought to be taken before the battle, and during the time of action; ſome depend upon the general's ability; others upon the circumſtances: it is impoſſible to deſcribe them, or to mark out their diſpoſitions, for a knowledge of them can only be attained by experience.

eaſily march whenever it ſhall be ordered *. In a word, the troops ſhould be diſpoſed after ſuch a manner, that even before the action they may perceive in what manner they are to act. It is the work of genius to take the advantage of circumſtances, and to ſubmit to them; it is impoſſible to foreſee the precautions dependant on them, as the very circumſtances muſt be, themſelves, unforeſeen; it is by a general's addreſs, in knowing how to profit by circumſtances, that he ſometimes makes a motion conducive to the whole ſucceſs of the action. Montécuculli reduced all the advantages that can be gained over an enemy to four principal heads, which in reality are of themſelves reduced to the knowledge of profiting by circumſtances; ſuch are the advantages of number, when the enemy is beaten in his poſts, his convoys, and in his forages, when an ambuſcade is ſurrounded, or when a whole army falls upon a ſmall, weak, and ſeperated body; the ſecond head conſiſts in the knowledge of the commander; the third in the manner of fighting, and the fourth in the advantage of the ground. A general who

* It is always proper that the corps of reſerve be compoſed of veterans, and even of part of the flower of the army; for ſhould the army happen to be broke his reſerve alone may, probably, give a new face to the action.

properly conſiders theſe heads, will diſpoſe of an army after ſuch a manner, that it may at the ſame time receive orders without miſtake, and execute them without confuſion. He ſhould, if poſſible, be acquainted with the nature, and character, of the enemy, and his generals, whether they are prudent, or raſh, daring, or timid; whether they fight upon principles, or at hazard; and he ought to be earlier, or later, in making the attack, in proportion to the raſhneſs of the enemy. If, ſays Montécuculli, any ſigns of fear, or confuſion, is perceived among the enemy, which will be known when the ranks are diſordered, when the troops mix together in the intervals, when the colours wave about, and the pikes ſhake, all at the ſame time. Then he ſhould charge and purſue the enemy, without giving him time for recollection.

When a general draws up his army, he ſhould, if poſſible, avoid having either the wind, or ſun in his front. The wind which raiſed the duſt, and blew it into the eyes of the Romans, contributed to the loſs of the battle of Cannæ; the ſun, on the other hand, dazzles the ſoldiers, and lays open their diſpoſitions, and evolutions, to the enemy. The order and diſpoſition of troops for action, depend entirely upon the general, who knows how to profit by circumſtances; the juſt execution of them depends upon the capacity of the general officers, each of whom ought to be

aſſigned

aſſigned to ſuch particular body, as he is the fitteſt to command. The general cannot be every where, or ſee every thing, therefore he is obliged to rely upon the underſtanding of thoſe who command under him, for the juſt execution of his orders; the general officers ſhould know how to vary them, in proportion, as circumſtances, and the ſituation, of the enemy changes. They ſhould have an exactneſs and quickneſs of eye, both to oppoſe and profit, by them; for the diſpoſition of the troops being once regulated by that of the enemy, or the ſituation of the ground, the only part the general can have in the action, lies in thoſe places where he is within reach of giving orders himſelf. His poſt, during the action, is variouſly aſſigned; according to Vigetius, it is on the right wing between the cavalry and the infantry. Onozander fixes it on ſome height. Titus Livius, and Polybius, have obſerved, that the poſts of Scipio, and Hannibal, were always in thoſe parts which were leaſt expoſed, becauſe a general who runs into danger, is raſh, and fuller of preſumption than courage; true courage never expoſes itſelf, but when there is a neceſſity, and then it goes chearfully, and without rage. The general ſhould always make choice of intelligent, active, and prudent, aids-de-camp.

A general, before he begins to fight, ought to ſound the ſpirit of his ſoldiers, and obſerve whether

whether they have a firmer countenance than the enemy. It is dangerous to lead an army on to action that is not determined to do its duty. It is a remarkable and true obſervation, that battles are generally won by a ſmall number of men; therefore the great myſtery conſiſts in the general's knowing how to chooſe them, to poſt them well conformable to his plan, and the ſervices required of them. It is impoſſible to lay down rules and diſpoſitions for drawing up an army in order of battle, therefore the reader muſt not expect them, for they can only be given, and regulated, according to the circumſtances; ſuch as the poſition of the enemy, and the ſituation of the ground; which, in every action, differ greatly.

As every thing depends upon timely precautions, ſo the general ſhould not even neglect thoſe which may be in appearance of the leaſt import, whether before the battle, or at the very time they may be put in execution after the action; as the rallying the troops, the refreſhing of them, the retreating from before the enemy, or the purſuit of him, ſuppoſing the battle to be gained. A general ſhould have, before-hand, formed the plans of the marches, and the enterprizes he would attempt, and be almoſt certain of the means of executing them; if, on the contrary, he fails, he ſhould have determined the poſitions by which the army, fixed in a camp ſtrong by ſituation,

ſituation, may prevent the enemy from reaping any great advantage from his victory; he ſhould alſo have provided for the ſecurity of priſoners, the hoſpitals, the plunder of the ſoldiers; in ſhort, for all that is neceſſary for preſerving order and diſcipline, and every thing contributing to the ſecurity of the troops; the diſtreſs of the enemy, and the glory of the ſovereign, ſhould be provided for without waiting the event, for at that time, confuſion and diſorder would prove more fatal than even the battle. A hiſtory of battles, is only the hiſtory of the overſights, and faults of generals.

However bloody a battle may be, it is always leſs ſo than a long war, which by reiterated troubles, conſumes the treaſures of ſovereigns, and drains the blood of the ſubjects. Nevertheleſs, there are ſome occaſions where it is not left to a general's choice, either to give, or accept, of battle. An army of obſervation, and an army acting on the defenſive, neither can, nor ought to be deſirous of coming to an action. Both the one and the other ſhould have no other object in view, than that of poſting itſelf in ſo advantageous a ſituation, that the enemy may neither entertain a thought of attacking it in its camp, or any hope of forcing it. The army of obſervation, whoſe only object is to protect, or cover, the troops forming a ſiege, ſhould never ſeek to fight the enemy, unleſs attacked by

by him: the other, obliged by its want of ſtrength, to act upon the defenſive, ſhould only be deſirous of occupying advantageous poſts, to prevent the enemy's penetrating into the country, and attacking it in any poſition it ſhall have taken.

SECTION IV.

Of the invention of Gunpowder, the uſe of Cannon, and a Siege.

WITH reſpect to the invention of gunpowder, there is no certainty; ſome aſcribe it to one Bartholdus Schwartz, a German monk, in the year 1320, but others contradict it *, therefore we ſhall not enter into a critical inquiry concerning this point, but confine ourſelves to ſome other particulars of better authenticity. The learned and ingenious Fryar Bacon, in a treatiſe pub-

* If the reader is curious, and thinks it worth his while, he may ſee the various opinions in Mayer, Magius, Pol. Virgil, Pancirol. Bezold. Fluren. Rivault, Joh. Matth. de Luna, Naudé, &c.

liſhed

liſhed at Oxford in 1273, ſays * "an artificial fire that ſhall burn at any diſtance, can be compoſed of ſalt-petre and other ingredients.——A noiſe like that of thunder, and flaſhes as of lightning, may be produced in the air, more terrible than thoſe cauſed by nature itſelf; for a ſmall quantity of the compoſition, not exceeding a cubical inch in bulk, duly applied, makes a dreadful noiſe with violent flaſhings; and this may be done ſeveral ways, whereby a city, or an army may be deſtroyed. Theſe are wonderful things, if one knew how to uſe them with the juſt quantity of proper ingredients †." Hence it is very probable, that Schwartz borrowed the hint from Bacon, but never did him the juſtice to own it.

Authors greatly differ, when and by whom gunpowder was firſt applied to military purpoſes in Europe. Some ſay in a ſea engagement between the king of Tunis, and the

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* Epiſt. fratris Roger. Baconis de Secretis operibus artis et naturæ.

† Some think Bacon had the ſecret from a little treatiſe entitled *Liber Ignium*, written by one Marcus Græcus; in which gunpowder, the proportion of its ingredients, and its effects, are particularly deſcribed. The manuſcript was in the ſtudy of Dr. Mead, and Dr. Jebb has publiſhed it in Fryar Bacon's works.

Mooriſh

Mooriſh king of Seville, about the end of the thirteenth century. Others ſay, by the Venetians in 1379, during their war with the Genoeſe. Rapin ſays, our glorious Edward III. uſed cannon in the battle of Creſſy, in 1346 *. Father Daniel ſays, that gunpowder and cannon were uſed by the French in 1338, as it appears, ſays he, from the records of the chamber of accompts, where the treaſurer of war has charged, in his money accompts, for furniſhing powder and other neceſſaries for cannon †.

Cannon, were at firſt made of iron bars ſoldered together, and fortified with ſtrong hoops, and, on emergencies, they were made of leather, lined with plates of braſs. Braſs cannon were firſt founded by one Owen, an Engliſhman. The uſe of mortars is thought to be older than that of cannon: they were employed in the wars in Italy, to throw ſtones, and red hot balls of iron, long before the invention of bombs, which as Blondel

* Rapin had this from Mezerai, who in his Hiſtory of France, ſays the Engliſh planted four pieces of cannon upon a hill, which did great execution, and ſtruck terror among the French troops, it being the firſt time they had ſeen, or heard of, thoſe murdering engines.

† Tom. II. dans la vie de Philip VI. dit de Valois.

informs

informs us ‡, were first thrown at the siege of Wachtendonch in Guelderland, in 1588. Grenadoes and Petards are of a later date, nor were mines sprung with gunpowder for many years, after it was first used in war.

As it is impossible to explain all the operations of a siege, without having frequent recourse to mathematical and geometrical principles, the various methods of fortifications, &c. &c. which could not be comprised in the compass of this short dissertation, we must content ourselves with giving the following general idea of the nature of a siege.

When an army goes to besiege a fortified town, the first care of the general is to surround it with lines of circumvallation, and contravallation; the first to deprive it of all intelligence, reinforcement, or supplies, the last, to prevent sudden and unexpected sallies from the town, the besiegers next generally intrench themselves with a double ditch and breast-work, which not only prevent a surprise from the besieged, but from any who may attempt to relieve them. If there be no hopes of starving the town into a surrender by a blockade, or time will not admit of it, the besiegers make regular approaches, by running trenches, defended all along with a breast-work, and in proper places with re-

‡ L'art de jetter les bombes. liv. i. chap. 1.

doubts.

doubts. As the trenches advance, at convenient diſtances are raiſed batteries, which play continually on the fortifications, both to demoliſh them, and that under their fire, the ſoldiers may carry on the approaches with more ſafety. When they have dug through the counterſcarp (if that be thought neceſſary) they fill up the ditch and make a dam upon it defended by a gallery, over which they paſs up to the walls, and having made a breach in them, either by the Ordnance, or by ſpringing a mine, they uſe their utmoſt efforts to mount it, and to make themſelves maſters of the place; to facilitate which they throw great numbers of hand grenadoes among the defendants, the cannon, mortars, and ſmall arms, playing all the while inceſſantly from the ſeveral batteries, to terrify the beſieged, and drive them from their walls and ramparts. Sometimes the beſiegers burſt open the gates with petards, and ſo enter.

SECTION V.

Of ſecurity in the quarters, and cantonments, of an army.

WHEN a campaign is finiſhed, the general's firſt care ſhould be to provide and fix his troops in ſuch quarters where

they may be both ſafe and free from inſult. The marſhal de Puyſégeer has reduced the principles of cantonments to the following rules †.

1. No quarter ſhould be open to an attack, without being ſuſtained by others.

2. Some place ſhould be pitched upon, whoſe ſituation may be advantageous for action.

3. The field of battle ſhould be ſo ſituated, that all the troops may aſſemble in it, long before the enemy can fall upon them.

4. An army ſhould neither be too much extended, nor too much ſtraitened, when in quarters.

"For, whatever (ſays he in another place ‡) may be the ſituation in which an army is cantoned, the cantonment ſhould be diſpoſed after ſuch a manner, that no quarter can be attacked without being ſpeedily aſſiſted by the others; the general ſhould alſo endeavour as much as poſſible, to pitch upon ſome advantageous ſituation, where in caſe of an alarm, the troops may be formed in order of battle, and where they ſhall be obliged to rendezvous on the firſt order: the general alarm-poſt, or general place of arms, ſhould be fixed on a ſpot where all the troops can

† Art de la Guerre, part II. chap. 5. art. 3.

‡ Ibid. art. 5.

aſſemble,

aſſemble, before the enemy has time to fall upon the quarters and cantonments; which will depend on the enemy's diſtance, and that of the general place of arms, from the quarters.—Alſo before an army ſeparates, the general ſhould know the diſtance between his army and the enemy's; and whether, from the road he muſt take to come and attack the quarters, he will require more time than the cantoned army to aſſemble his troops, and fall upon the quarters."

To theſe inſtructions, let us add thoſe of the famous Montécuculli, who ſays *,

"A general ſhould eſtabliſh his quarters and cantonments in the neighbourhood of ſome great town, and cover them if poſſible, by a river, marking out the quarters in ſuch a manner, that they may be aſſiſted by it; being covered by a detachment in front; by poſting guards at the bridges and paſſages, by which the enemy may paſs; by deſtroying the fords, to prevent the enemy paſſing, and being troubleſome by their means; and to prevent their parties from intercepting the proviſion or forage, which they will endeavour at as much as poſſible; the forage drawn from the country, ſhould be depoſited in the places formed into magazines."

* Liv. 1. chap. 4. art. 5.

It is proper to obſerve, that although theſe principles are laid down for an entire army, they are nevertheleſs applicable to leſſer and ſeparate bodies, and to the particular quarters of infantry, cavalry, dragoons, and huſſars.

N. B. It was intended to have given here a ſecond part of this diſſertation, on *Naval War*; but as that would greatly exceed the bounds of this volume; it is hoped our readers will excuſe the deferring of it to next volume.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF SIEGES AND BATTLES.

CHAP. I.

Of the Britiſh *wars till the* Romans *quitted the iſland.*

IN the laſt volume of the ancient wars *, I gave an account of the two invaſions of Britain by Julius Cæſar. At the cloſe of his ſecond expedition, the ſummer being near expired, he wanted to return to the continent, that he might winter in Gaul, to prevent any ſudden inſurrection that might

* Vol. IV. p. 119, 129.

happen there. This induced him the more readily to conclude a peace with the Britons; upon theſe conditions, that Caſſibelan *, ſhould leave Mandubratius, in the quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom of the Trinobantes †, which his father governed till murdered by Caſſibelan; and that the Britons ſhould pay an annual tribute to the people of Rome.

It does not appear, either from the Roman, or any other, hiſtorians, that this tribute was ever paid, or even demanded, nor, during the civil wars with which the Roman empire was immediately diſtreſſed after the death of Cæſar, that the Britons ſent thither either men, or money, as all other tributary countries did. But peace being again reſtored to Rome, Auguſtus purpoſed to paſs over to Briton to compel the inhabitants to ſtand to their agreement with J. Cæſar, but was three times prevented by new troubles nearer home. In the mean time, the Britons ſued for, and

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* The borders of Caſſibelan's territories extended to the Thames in Surry, over againſt Oatelands, which lies eighty miles from the eaſt ſhore of Kent, where Cæſar landed.

† They inhabited Eſſex, with part of Hertfordſhire, Verulam being the chief town of their kingdom.

had

had very readily granted them, a peace, and ſome of the Britiſh princes procured his friendſhip by the preſents they ſent him. Thus, by the ſmall tribute they ſent, they were freed from all further attempts upon them, during the reign of this prince, and gradually became better known to the Romans, and conceived ſome idea of their power and policy. As to Tiberius, his ſucceſſor, he took no manner of notice of this iſland. The next emperor, Caligula, indeed made a fooliſh expedition here, which ended in nothing more than his men filling their helmets with cockleſhells upon the ſhore; and which he expoſed at Rome, on his return, as trophies of a real conqueſt *, for which he demanded a triumph; but the ſenate, not quite ſo fooliſh as himſelf, heſitating about the

* Caligula, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of this ridiculous expedition, erected upon the ſpot where his army was drawn up, a watch tower, in which there was a light, for the benefit of mariners upon thoſe ſeas. The ruins of this tower, though ſwallowed up by the encroaching ſeas, may ſtill be ſeen, at low water, upon the coaſt of Holland. It is called by the people thereabouts, *Britenhuis*; where they often find ſtones with inſcriptions, one of which was C. C. P. F. and is interpreted by them, *Caius Caligula, Pharum Fecit.* Camb. Gib. Ed. p. 54.

matter, were likely to have loſt their heads for ſo doing, had not the emperor been timely cut off by a conſpiracy. In the reign of Claudius, the next emperor, upon the death of Cunobeline *, his two ſons, Togodumnus and Caractacus reigned; when one Bericus, who had been driven out of Britain, for attempting to raiſe a ſedition, perſuaded the emperor to invade this iſland, that he might revenge his own quarrel. In the mean time, the noble and independent Britons ſent an embaſſy, as from one ſovereign power to another, to Rome, complaining of the protection given the rebels, and demanding their being given up. But Claudius, far from complying, made a formal demand of tribute from the Britons; but they, incenſed at the contempt with which their ambaſſadors were treated, and at the inſolence of the demand, ſhowed as little reſpect to the emperor's meſſage, as he had to their's, and prohibited all commerce with the Romans.

Upon this, Claudius ordered Aulus Plautius to tranſport the troops he commanded in Gaul, to Britain; but the ſoldiers, unwilling to enter upon a war, out of the world, as they termed it, mutinied, refuſing to quit Gaul; but at laſt conſented, ſolely out of

* He was the ſucceſſor of Tenuantius, who ſucceeded Caſſibelan.

regard to Plautius, who was a citizen of great reputation and virtue. He accordingly embarked his forces at three different places, and ſoon arrived ſafely upon the Britiſh coaſt, and, being unexpected, landed without any oppoſition *. He was ſome time in ſeeking the enemy, whoſe ſafety conſiſted in their union, but who, either from bad policy, or mutual jealouſy of each other, had diſperſed themſelves into different parties; theſe as he found them, he defeated, and ſo ſubdued them all. Caractacus was the firſt, and ſoon after his brother Togodumnus, whom Plautius defeated

The Bodunni †, who were at this time in ſubjection to the Catuellani ‡, preferring a foreign, to a domeſtic, yoke, immediately ſubmitted to the Romans; which ſtrengthened the power of Plautius, and gave him an opportunity of improving the diviſions of the Britons to the advantage of his maſter. And leaving a garriſon, he marched on againſt other Britons who ſtill held out, and had retired beyond the Severn, where they lay careleſly encamped, thinking themſelves ſuffi-

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* Year of Chriſt, 43.

† They inhabited Glouceſterſhire and Oxfordſhire.

‡ Or Caſſii, they inhabited a pretty large tract of the country, from them ſtill called Caſhew.

ciently ſafe, as not imagining that the Romans could paſs the river without a bridge. But Plautius had, in his army, ſome Germans who were uſed to ſwim the ſtrongeſt currents. Theſe, by his orders, ſwam over the river with their arms, and eaſily gained the weſtern ſhore, and though few in number, ſo aſtoniſhed the Britons, that they retired to a further diſtance. It was now, that Veſpaſian firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf; he with his brother Sabinus, was detached to ſupport the Germans; which they did, and gained ſome advantage over the troops of the Britons whom they firſt met with. But theſe two actions were far from being deciſive. The next day, a general engagement enſued, greatly to the honour of the Britons, as the Romans had like to have been entirely cut off. Veſpaſian himſelf was in eminent danger, but was reſcued by the piety of his ſon. C. Sidius Geta, another general officer, who was thought to be taken priſoner, diſengaged himſelf, and the troops he commanded, from the enemy, took advantage of the careleſſneſs which the proſpect of a victory had thrown the Britons into, and charged them anew. This gave the Romans an opportunity to recover themſelves, and, in the end, to force the Britons to a retreat. It was both neceſſary and prudent for the Britons to ſhift, as they did, the ſeat of war; as often as they could, for the benefit of ſubſiſtance

ance and ſafety; as they had no places deſerving the name of fortifications; and as they had no proviſions but what were juſt ſufficient for ſatisfying the moſt frugal calls of nature; as they had no ambition, but to preſerve their freedom, by harraſſing their enemies. This led them to make a ſtand againſt the Romans, towards the mouth of the Thames, among the fens and marſhes, being themſelves perfectly acquainted with every paſſage through them; and by this means gave the Romans great trouble in following them. But the Germans attempted to ſwim over, while the other ſoldiers paſſed over to attack them; either by laying a bridge, or taking advantage of one, which the Britons, by an unpardonable neglect, had left. In this action, Togodumnus fell, but the Romans reaped no advantage from this, ſince it exaſperated the Britons with greater fury againſt them.

Plautius was ſenſible that he ſhould not be able to give a deciſive blow, to an enemy who recovered freſh vigour from a defeat. He beheld, with wonder, the terrors of war redoubled, ready to pour forth its utmoſt revenge on his diſtreſſed troops, whilſt every hand ſeemed determined to ſecure conqueſt and liberty to its owner. Unable, therefore, to reſiſt the torrent which beat down all before it, he prepared to ſecure what he already poſſeſſed, and to preſerve the remainder of his

forces, till they could be reinforced from Rome, where he knew great preparations were making to complete the buſineſs he came upon; and for this aſſiſtance he immediately ſent. The country of the Bodunni, that had ſubmitted to Plautius, afforded him, and his men, a ſecure retreat, who otherwiſe muſt have been cut off by ſword, famine, or by both.

As ſoon as Claudius received intelligence how matters ſtood in Britain *, he, leaving the care of the government at home to Vitellius, haſtened from Oſtia to Marſeilles by ſea, but in his paſſage was three times in danger of being ſhipwrecked upon the Ligurian coaſt. Being arrived at Marſeilles, he travelled by land to Geſſoriacum †, from whence, with a great army, he ſet ſail for Britain, and brought with him ſeveral elephants, as being very ſerviceable animals, on this occaſion, as they could wade through bogs and rivers, impaſſable by footmen. Claudius having landed, as is ſuppoſed, at Richborough, immediately advanced to Plautius, who in the mean time could have attacked the enemy, who imputed his inactivity to fear; but avoided coming to action, that the emperor might have the glory of the

* Suetonius Vit. Claud. c. xvii.

† Boulogne.

victory.

victory. The Romans had now perhaps a greater army than the Britons had ever ſeen before; but what was worſe, their diviſions had greatly weakened the latter, and theſe were unable to defend themſelves, as their brave forefathers had done. The Roman army, commanded by Claudius, paſſed the Thames, and after a bloody battle *, defeated the Britiſh forces †, and then attacked, and took, Camelodunum, the royal ſeat of Cunobeline. This ſo terrified the neighbouring ſtate, that they voluntarily ſubmitted. During theſe ſucceſſes, Claudius was ſeveral times ſaluted imperator by his army, a thing without a precedent, as a general never before had that honour conferred upon him more than once, in the courſe of one war. The Britons, always remarkable for gratitude, were ſo affected by the generoſity of the conqueror who only diſarming them, left them in the poſſeſſion of their goods, that they built him a temple, and honoured him as a God. This expedition took up but fifteen days. After an abſence of ſix months, but ſixteen days of which he ſpent in Britain, Claudius returned to Rome, where he was honoured with a triumph, and he and his ſon with the ſurname

* Dion Caſſius.

† Whether this is, Maldon, Walden, or Colcheſter in Eſſex, hiſtorians are divided.

of Britannicus, beſides other honours, as if all Britain, whereas in fact only a ſmall part, had been ſubdued. Plautius, who was left governor, continued to make conqueſts, in which Veſpaſian and his ſon Titus, then only a tribune, bravely diſtinguiſhed themſelves. Veſpaſian, in particular, fought thirty battles with the Britons, ſubdued two powerful nations, took above twenty towns, and the Iſle of Wight.

A few years after*, in the abſence of Plautius, the Britons †, either preſuming upon the diſtractions of the government of Rome, or longing to recover their independency, broke in upon the Roman conqueſts, and continually harraſſed the Romans and their allies, when Oſtorius Scapula, being ſent into Britain, fell unexpectedly upon them; killed great numbers of them, and diſperſed the reſt ‡. The preparations that Oſtorius made to prevent future diſturbances from the

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* Year of Chriſt, 50.

† Probably the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales.

‡ To prevent theſe inroads for the future, he built ſeveral forts on the Severn, the Avon and the Nen, reduced that part of the iſland, which lies ſouth of theſe rivers, to a Roman province, and, for a further ſecurity, made Camelodunum a military colony.

Britons,

Britons, greatly alarmed them; they considered themselves as likely to be kept in continual subjection; this filled them with a general anxiety. Near where Ostorius had fixed his post, lived a powerful people, called then the Iceni *, who had not hitherto been subdued by the Romans. As they had formerly sought the Roman friendship, their example greatly influenced the conduct of the neighbouring states. A general rendezvous was appointed, and a proper place for forming a camp, which they fenced with a rampart of earth, and was inaccessible, only by a pass too narrow for cavalry to enter. The prime of the legionary soldiers, were not at this time with Ostorius, however, he advanced with what troops he had, placed the cohorts as he thought best, and the cavalry, so as to assault the intrenchment. Soon after the assault begun, the Romans destroyed the rude works of the Britons, and gained an entrance sword in hand; however, the attacked did not tamely submit, but for a-while maintained their cause with their usual bravery, though worsted in the end. Their defeat, prevented the revolt of other states, who were upon the point of throwing off the Roman

* In Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire.

yoke. The Cangi †, upon the approach of the victorious Romans, not thinking themſelves able to oppoſe their enemy in the open field, imitated the policy of their anceſtors, by falling upon them in detached parties; yet this did not hinder the progreſs of Oſtorius, who was advancing towards the oppoſite coaſt to Ireland. But he, receiving intelligence that the Brigantines, who inhabited the northern countries of England, were riſing, turned back, and ſoon put an end to this inſurrection.

Soon after he had other enemies to deal with; the Silures, a brave people, fond of liberty, and headed by their king Caractacus, famous for his great exploits, being the beſt general Britain ever had, and beloved by his people. The nations who were in alliance with the Silures, had choſen him to be the chief commander of their forces, with theſe he was retired into the country of the Ordovices §, and prepared to receive the Romans. To this purpoſe he drew up his army on the

† Who lived in the weſtern part of Wales; or, as Horſely conjectures, about Derbyſhire.

§ Who inhabited Mongomeryſhire, Merionethſhire, Caernarvonſhire, Flintſhire, and Derbyſhire.

ſide

ſide of a hill †, very difficult of acceſs, with a little river * at the bottom, which was very ſerviceable to him, though fordable in ſeveral places. He further ſecured his camp with a kind of rampart, made of flint and ſtones. Though Caractacus thought himſelf pretty ſecure, yet the Romans, who wanted to put an end to the war, were not deterred by all theſe diſadvantages, from attacking him; whilſt on the other hand, the Britons, promiſing themſelves that the event of the day would ſecure their liberty, prepared with the greateſt ardor for the battle; whilſt their leaders exhorted them to a vigorous attack, by every motive that could inſpire them with courage and reſolution. Caractacus, in particular, told his men, that "this was the important day, this the deciſive field, that was to fix their doom, in a ſtate of recovered liberty, or eternal bondage." He invoked the glorious memories of their anceſtors, who had driven Cæſar out of Britain, and freed their country from the dominion of the Romans, preſerved to them their liberties, and privi-

† There is a hill, on the edge of Shropſhire, where the rivers Clune and Temd meet, inacceſſible but at one place, called from Caractacus, *Caer Carador*, where the relicks of theſe ſtone ramparts are yet to be ſeen; Horſley p. 31.

* The Severn, or more probably the Dee.

leges,

leges. A ſhout of applauſe proved how agreeable what he ſaid was to his whole army, which, to a man, declared their fixed reſolution to loſe their lives in defence of their liberty; whilſt every countenance ſhowed an eagerneſs to engage. The Britons aſſumed ſuch an air of reſolution, as at firſt intimidated the Roman general, but conſidering the eagerneſs of his own men to engage, he gave the ſignal for battle, having firſt acquainted himſelf with the fordable parts of the river. The Romans pretty eaſily paſſed the river, but in their approach to the enemy's camp, many of them were killed and wounded by a ſhower of darts, whereupon they made a kind of roof over their heads with their ſhields, and ſoon broke through the ill-compacted ſtone rampart. This obliged the Britons to retire to the tops of their mountains, whither they were purſued by the heavy, as well as light, armed ſoldiers, till at length they were entirely diſperſed, and the wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus, were made priſoners. Caractacus alſo, who fled to Carthiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes †, for protection, was delivered bound to the conqueror. This was eſteemed a very remarkable victory; the name of Caractacus was become famous even in Rome itſelf, by the long oppoſition he had made to the Roman power for ſe-

† They inhabited Yorkſhire.

ven

ven years, with naked men, compared to the Roman general and his legions, completely armed and bred up in war. When Caractacus was brought to Rome, the people were ſummoned to attend, as on ſome ſolemn occaſion; and the prætorian cohorts ſtood to their arms. Firſt came the king's ſervants, then the ſpoils taken in war; after theſe, the brothers, the wife, and daughter of Caractacus; and laſt of all, himſelf; but he, neither in his countenance, words, or actions, expreſſed any kind of fear, or baſe ſubmiſſion; but ſtanding before the tribunal of Claudius, delivered himſelf in this manner: "If my mind, Cæſar, had been as moderate in my proſperity, as my birth and dignity were eminent, I might have come into this city a friend, rather than a captive; nor couldſt thou have diſdained one for a confederate, whoſe deſcent was ſo noble, and who ruled ſo many nations. My preſent condition, to me diſgraceful, to thee is glorious. I had riches, men, arms and horſes; no wonder that I contended to preſerve them. But if fate has decreed the empire yours, we among the reſt, muſt fall under your ſubjection. Had I ſubmitted ſooner, my misfortunes had been leſs conſpicuous, and your conqueſt leſs glorious. If you proceed capitally againſt us, and deprive us of our lives, both will ſoon be forgotten. But if you ſuffer us to live, we ſhall remain eternal examples of your clemency."

mency." Claudius, moved with the noble behaviour of the royal captive, pardoned him and the reſt of the priſoners; who being unbound, in a moſt reſpectful manner, returned him their thanks.

Oſtorius received the honour of a triumph; but did not preſerve his reputation much longer. The Britons *, at the fate of their hero, reſumed their former vigour, poured upon Oſtorius, and the legionary cohorts, left in garriſon to keep the Silures in awe; theſe being ſurrounded, were very near being entirely cut off, had it not been for a timely reſcue from the neighbouring forts and villages; but not till the prefect, with eight centurions, and the moſt forward of their ſoldiers, were cut to pieces. The Britons then attacked a forraging party, and routed not only that body, but ſome ſquadrons ſent to its ſupport. They were vigorouſly purſuing their advantage, when Oſtorius ſent out his cohorts to oppoſe them; but the Britons ſtill continuing to bear down all before them, he was at laſt obliged to bring his whole force againſt them. Victory in the end declared in favour of the Romans, and the brave Britons were obliged to retire, as the night came on, with a very inconſiderable loſs, conſidering that they

* Year of Chriſt, 52.

had

had fought three battles in one day, againſt ſuch well-diſciplined troops as the Romans.

There were afterwards ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between their parties, in woods and moraſſes. The Silures were more exaſperated than any other people, as the emperor had ſaid, *That he would root out the very name of them.* They ſurpriſed and defeated two cohorts, who, for the ſake of plunder, had advanced too far into the country, and having diſpoſed of their ſpoils and priſoners in the neighbouring countries, drew them into a revolt. Theſe misfortunes coming ſo thick, one upon the neck of another, are thought to have contributed to the death of Oſtorius the Roman general, who could not bear to ſee thoſe laurels faded he had reaped in the beginning of his command. The enemy rejoiced, as for a victory, that they had worn out ſo great a general.

A. Didius was appointed to ſucceed Oſtorius in Britain, where he found the Roman affairs in ſome diſtraction, the legion of Manlius Valens having been defeated. The Silures continued to infeſt the Roman pale, till Didius, by the ſtrong parties he ſent out, compelled them to retire to their mountains. Venutius, a prince of the Brigantes, now commanded the Britons: he was the huſband of queen Carthiſmandua, who betrayed Caractacus to the Romans; ſhe, by the merit of that action, preſuming on the protection of the

the Roman general, eloped from her huſband, and took Vellocatus, one of his gentlemen to her bed. This infamous action was not only attended with the reſentment of her huſband, but the revolt of almoſt all her ſubjects; whereupon ſhe implored the Roman aid, and by their aſſiſtance, eſcaped her huſband's fury. Venutius, provoked that the Romans ſhould intermeddle in his domeſtic affairs, and protect an adultreſs againſt him, though he was formerly their ally, broke out into open war, aſſembling the Britons from every part of the country, who were highly incenſed with the repeated injuries they received from the Roman officers. Didius being grown old and laden with honours, carried on the war by his generals, who did little more than maintain their ground againſt the incurſions of the Britons. Verannius was ſent by the emperor Nero, to command in Britain, after Didius: he marched againſt the Silures ſoon after his arrival, and engaged them with ſome ſucceſs, but died in the firſt year of his government, declaring by his will that he would have made a complete conqueſt of the iſland, if he had lived two years longer. To him ſucceeded Suetonius Paulinus, eſteemed one of the beſt ſoldiers of the age, and for two years together, carried on the war with great ſucceſs.

Then

Then he prepared to attack the iſle of Angleſey, which had ſent reinforcements to the Silures, and was the conſtant retreat of all the diſaffected. He built him therefore a great number of flat-bottomed boats, to tranſport the foot, and his horſe either forded the paſſage, or ſwam over. The enemies troops were drawn up on the oppoſite ſhore to receive them, and numbers of women with firebrands in their hands, and their hair looſe upon their ſhoulders, ran up and down the Britiſh camp like ſo many furies. The Druids their prieſts, alſo lifting up their hands to heaven, uttered the moſt dreadful curſes againſt their enemies as they advanced, at which the Roman ſoldiers ſtood amazed to that degree, it is ſaid, that they neglected their defence; till awakened and incited by their generals to mind their duty, and not be terrified by a company of fooliſh women and prieſts. (Here I doubt great allowances muſt be made for the hiſtorian's particular vein, for we muſt not only ſuppoſe that the Roman ſoldiers were ſuperſtitious to a very high degree, to be in the confuſion they are repreſented, but that they were hitherto unacquainted with the Britiſh cuſtoms, though they had dwelt ſo long among them.) The Roman ſoldiers attacked the Britons and defeated them, throwing them into the fires they had prepared for their ſacrifices: garriſons were

afterwards placed in their towns, and their groves cut down, where their altars uſed to ſmoak.

While Suetonius was engaged in this remote war againſt the people of Angleſey, he received advice of a general revolt of the Iceni; their king Praſatugus, it ſeems, dying, poſſeſſed of great wealth, the better to ſecure it to his family, had left Cæſar coheir with his two daughters; but the centurions and Roman officers, under pretence of ſurveying and taking poſſeſſion of the emperor's new inheritance, plundered the palace of the deceaſed king, beat and abuſed Boadicea his widow, and raviſhed his daughters; the grandees of the kingdom were turned out of their paternal eſtates, the peoples goods were confiſcated, and the whole royal family treated after the manner of ſlaves, or priſoners taken in war. The colony of Camalodunum in particular, treated the natives with all imaginable inſolence.

With theſe indignities and barbarities the whole nation was ſo provoked, that they unanimouſly had recourſe to arms, entering into a confederacy * with the Trinobantes †, and other people who had ſuffered in like manner.

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* Year of Chriſt, 61. † Middleſex.

Camalo-

Camalodunum, the chief colony of the Romans, was but ſlightly fortified at this time; againſt this place therefore the Britons firſt bent their fury. The number of the ſoldiers in garriſon there was very ſmall, and Catus Decianus the procurator, to whom they ſent for relief, could ſpare them but two hundred men. The ſoldiers retired into the temple, as the place of greateſt ſtrength, where they defended themſelves two days; but being taken by ſtorm, they were all put to the ſword; the temple of Claudius demoliſhed, and the town plundered and burnt. From hence the Britons marched to meet Petus Cerealis, who was coming to the relief of Camalodunum with the ninth legion; him they defeated, cutting moſt of the legion in pieces, their commander eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe to the Roman camp, where, with ſome difficulty, he defended himſelf; and Catus Decianus, whoſe rapine had occaſioned the inſurrection, fled into Gaul. Suetonius receiving repeated advices of the diſtreſs the Roman colonies were reduced to, returned by haſty marches towards London, which was full of Roman inhabitants and rich merchants, though not termed a colony at this time. Here the general had at firſt determined to wait the approach of the enemy, to which he was inclined by the cries and entreaties of the inhabitants; but he choſe afterwards to abandon the town and

advance

advance in ſearch of the Britons, taking with him all that were able to bear arms and were willing to join him; and the reſt, whom ſex or age rendered unfit for a campaign, were left behind, and ſoon after periſhed by the fury of the enemy. Verulam, a Roman free town, underwent the ſame fate; for the Britons neglecting to attack the Roman caſtles and fortreſſes, fell upon the open wealthy towns, maſſacering no leſs than ſeventy thouſand ſouls. The Britons made no priſoners, but put all to the ſword, exerciſing unheard of cruelties, if we may credit the Roman authors: they hanged up women naked, cutting off their breaſts and faſtening them to their mouths, as if they were devouring their own fleſh, while they themſelves feaſted and rejoiced in the temple of Andate, the Goddeſs of victory.

Suetonius had with him only the fourteenth legion, and ſome ſtandards of horſe, amounting in the whole to ten thouſand veterans, completely armed: he choſe a place for the engagement where the enemy could neither fall upon his flanks, or rear, having his front towards a large plain, where the Britons were encamped; he drew up his foot in the center, and placed the horſe upon the wings, and here he waited the approach of the enemy. The Britons, without any order, ranged about the plain in troops and companies, rending the air with their ſhouts: there were not,

not, according to the Roman account, leſs than two hundred thouſand of them, and ſo confident of victory, that they had brought their women with them (to ſee the ſlaughter of the Romans,) whom they placed in their waggons on the further ſide of the plain. Boadicea, whoſe wrongs were the principal occaſion of the inſurrection, was that day their leader.

Suetonius, unmoved at the ſhouts and threats of the enemy, ſtood firm and received their charge; after which the Britons ſoon diſperſed, and he had little to do but to purſue them. The ſlaughter was very great, the Romans did not ſpare even the women, it is ſaid; inſomuch that fourſcore thouſand died by the ſword that day, while the Romans did not loſe above four hundred men, according to their own hiſtorians. Boadicea poiſoned herſelf, as ſome write; others ſay ſhe died a natural death, but all agree ſhe did not long ſurvive the battle.

Suetonius was ſoon after reinforced from Germany with ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, and kept a very ſevere hand over the Britons; and what was an addition to their misfortunes, they were grievouſly afflicted with famine, having neglected to manure their grounds during the inſurrection. Julius Claſſicianus, ſucceeded Decianus in the office of procurator.

Not

Not long after, Suetonius loſing ſome gallies upon the coaſt, was commanded to reſign his government to Petronius Turpilianus. This general proved much more indulgent to the Britons; and having compoſed and calmed their ſpirits, reſigned his poſt to Trebellius Maximus, not entering upon any action during his adminiſtration.

Trebellius followed the ſteps of his predeceſſor, terming his remiſſneſs and want of diſcipline, gentle government; which occaſioned an intolerable licentiouſneſs and diſorder in his camp. The ſoldiers were incenſed againſt him alſo on account of his covetouſneſs, and a civil war breaking out in the empire, Roſſius Cælius, the legate of a legion, being of a different party, ſo incited the ſoldiers againſt Trebellius, that he was obliged to fly into Germany for protection.

Cælius, and the legate of another legion, who were in the intereſt of the then emperor Vitellius, took upon them the adminiſtration, till Vitellius ſent over Vectius Bolanus to command in Britain. Petilius Cerealis, of conſular dignity, was appointed by Veſpaſian to ſucceed in the government of Britain. He had ſeveral ſmart encounters with the Brigantes.

Julius Frontinus ſucceeded Cerealis, who by reducing the Silures and driving them from their ſtrongeſt retreats in the mountains

tains obtained abundance of honour; but Julius Agricola, whom Veſpaſian ſent hither in his laſt year, having been bred up in the Britiſh wars, extended the Roman conqueſts in this iſland beyond any of his predeceſſors *. A little before his arrival, the Ordovices † had cut off a body of Roman horſe, which was quartered amongſt them: Agricola, tho' it was the latter end of the ſummer, and the forces lay diſperſed about the province, aſſembled a body of troops, and marched directly againſt the Ordovices, whom he beat from their hills, and almoſt extirpated the whole nation. From thence he marched to the iſle of Angleſey, where not ſtaying for boats, he commanded ſome of the auxiliaries to ſwim over the ſea; which ſo terrified that people, that he ſoon completed the reduction of it. Theſe two actions raiſed his reputation to a very great height. The Britons were amazed to ſee him, at the very entrance upon his government, when the time is uſually taken up in compliments and congratulatory addreſſes, make ſo conſiderable a progreſs.

The emperor Veſpaſian dying about this time, his ſucceſſor Titus confirmed Agricola in his command; who taking the field the following ſummer, ſo harraſſed the enemy,

* Year of Chriſt, 79. † North Wales.

that he left them ſcarce any retreat: but after he had ſufficiently terrified the Britons, and ſhewn them that it was to little purpoſe to reſiſt the Roman arms, he ſo allured them with the mildneſs of his government, that many diſtant cities, without compulſion, came and ſubmitted to him.

Agricola, in the third year of his government, diſcovered nations before unknown to the Romans, advancing northward as far as the Bay of Taus, or Tweed, without being moleſted by the Britons. He made himſelf maſter of that part of the coaſt of Scotland neareſt Ireland.

The following ſummer it being rumoured, that all the nations beyond Bodotria, (Edinburgh Frith) were in motion, and intended to attack the Roman army, Agricola ordered his fleet to ſail along the coaſt as he advanced, to aſſiſt the land-forces; and here in the evening, when the fleet was at anchor, and the army encamped, the mariners often came on ſhore. The Roman fleet ſtruck the Britons with terror: they did not however neglect their defence, but aſſembled their forces and attacked ſeveral of the Roman fortreſſes. Agricola obſerving that the Britons divided their forces into ſeveral ſmall bodies, divided his army alſo into three parts; which the enemy underſtanding, on a ſudden joined all their forces, and fell upon the ninth legion in their camp, at midnight, doing great execution

cution before the Romans were well awake: but Agricola, by his ſpies, having intelligence of the march of the Britons, followed them cloſe at the heels, ſo that by break of day, the Roman ſtandards appeared on every ſide: the diſpute was very ſharp in the narrow paſſages to the camp, but the Britons were defeated, and compelled to retire to their bogs and mountains. The Roman ſoldiers, who, juſt before, were ready to mutiny upon their marching ſo far northward, upon this ſucceſs, deſired their generals would lead them to the utmoſt bounds of Britain; while the enemy, aſcribing their defeat more to the ſtratagems of the general than the ſtrength of his forces, prepared again to meet him in the field: they ſummoned all that were able to bear arms, and having ſecured their families in places leaſt expoſed, obliged themſelves, at their ſacrifices and ſolemn meetings, to make their utmoſt efforts againſt the common enemy.

The following ſummer, Agricola having ſent his fleet to the coaſt of Scotland before him, to alarm and diſtract the enemy, began his march to the north with a good army, in which he entertained ſeveral Britons belonging to the Roman colonies, of whoſe fidelity he was well aſſured. He found the enemy encamped on the Mountain Grampius, (Grainſbrane-Hill in the county of Marr) to the number of thirty thouſand

men commanded by Galgacus, one of their princes. The firſt line of Agricola's army, was compoſed of eight thouſand auxiliary foot, and he had three thouſand horſe upon the wings; the Roman legion compoſed the ſecond line, with whom he did not propoſe to engage, unleſs there was a neceſſity for it. For the Romans, it ſeems, never expoſed their national forces in the front of the battle.

The Britiſh foot were drawn up on the ſide of the hill, and made as great an appearance as they could, in order to terrrify their enemies with their numbers; their horſe and chariots ſcoured over the plain between the two armies, which rung with the very noiſe of them. Agricola having ordered his front to be extended, that the enemy might not flank him, alighted from his horſe, and ſtanding at the head of the legions, made a ſignal to begin the charge. The two armies fought for ſome time at a diſtance with their darts and arrows, till Agricola commanded three cohorts of Batavians to advance and engage the Britons in a cloſer fight, whoſe ſpears and pointed ſwords gave them a great advantage of the Britons, and compelled them to retire. The Britiſh horſe and chariots not being able to make any impreſſion on the Romans, were diſperſed, and fell in among their own foot, where they did more miſchief than the enemy.

The

The Britons on the tops of the hills, who had not yet engaged, obſerving the ſmall numbers of the Romans which charged their forces, were about to ſurround them, when Agricola detached four troops of horſe from the body of reſerve, which ſoon compelled them to retire, and a total rout immediately followed. Of the Britons, were killed about ten thouſand, and of the Romans, not above three hundred and forty, among whom, the moſt conſiderable was Aulus Atticus, prefect of a cohort, who, by his own youthful heat, and the fierceneſs of his horſe, was carried away among the thickeſt of the enemy. The night coming on, the Britons fled to the woods and inacceſſible part of the country, not endeavouring to keep together in a body: they burnt and deſtroyed their own houſes in their retreat, ſo that the next morning the Romans obſerved the whole country to be in a ſmoak, but not a man to be found. It being now the latter end of the ſummer, Agricola led his army to the country of the Horeſti, (which ſome take to be the people of Angus upon Tay, in the eaſtwern part of Scotland; others take them to be highlanders.) Having received hoſtages of this people, he commanded his admiral to ſail round Britain, while he himſelf led back the horſe and foot by eaſy marches, the better to ſettle and confirm his new conqueſts, after which the army went into winter-quarters. The fleet

having had a proſperous voyage, made the Trutulenſian port (near Sandwich) from whence it firſt ſet ſail, having ſubdued the iſlands of Orkney in their way; though others hold they were reduced two years before. Domitian, the brother of Titus, was now emperor of Rome, and received the news of Agricola's ſucceſs with great ſeeming ſatisfaction, decreeing him the higheſt honours; but however, recalled him ſoon after, and ſent him into the eaſt; where he died, ſuſpected to be poiſoned by the directions of the emperor, who could not bear to ſee himſelf out-ſhined. The ſucceeding emperors loſt much of what Agricola had won.

We have ſcarce any certain account of what was tranſacted in Britain from the time Agricola left the iſland *, till the reign of the emperor Adrian, when it appears that the Caledonians and Picts, having made incurſions into the Roman province, Julius Severus was ſent over to reſtrain them; and afterwards the emperor came hither in perſon, and built a wall of earth, from Solway Frith near Carliſle to the river Tyne by Newcaſtle; reſigning all the reſt of the country, as far as Sterling, which was the former boundary of the Romans, to the Caledonians.

* Year of Chriſt, 121.

In

In the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius †, the Brigantes made another ſtruggle for their liberties, but were defeated, and the Romans again extended their dominion as far as Sterling. Marcus Aurelius, the ſucceeding emperor, by his lieutenant Calphurnius Agricola, carried on the war ſucceſsfully againſt the Caledonians. To Aurelius ſucceeded Commodus ‡, in whoſe time Lucius, a Britiſh king, received the Chriſtian faith, being the firſt monarch, it is ſaid, that made open profeſſion of it.

In the reign of Commodus, the Caledonians broke through the wall, and defeated the Roman forces, advancing ſo far ſouthward, that the whole province was in danger; but Ulpius Marcellus, the moſt accompliſhed general of his time, being ſent over hither by the emperor, reduced them to their former bounds, and reſtored the nation to a ſtate of peace. Upon his return to Rome, the legions in Britain mutinied: they proceeded ſo far as to ſet up another emperor; whereupon Helvius Pertinax was ſent over hither, and, with great difficulty, compelled them to return to their duty, being knocked down and left for dead, in an encounter with the mutineers. He was ſucceeded in the government

† Year of Chriſt, 144. ‡ Year of Chriſt, 181.

of Britain by Clodius Albinus §, who ſoon after was commanded, upon ſome diſguſt the emperor had entertained, to reſign to Junius Severus.

Pertinax being advanced to the empire, reſtored Albinus to his government of Britain again, in which he continued during the ſhort reigns of Pertinax, and Didius Julianus. The ſucceeding emperor, Septimius Severus *, ſent over Hiraclitus as his lieutenant. Albinus afterwards aſſembled all the Roman forces in Britain and Gaul, and gave battle to Severus, near Lyons in France, but after an obſtinate diſpute, Albinus was killed in the field of battle, and his army entirely defeated. Hereupon, Severus divided Britain into two provinces, committing the government of the ſouth to Heraclitus, and the north to Virius Lupus.

The Caledonians, about this time, broke in upon the Roman pale, deſtroying all the country before them, which Lupus not being able to reſtrain with the troops he commanded, ſent to the emperor for a reinforcement. Severus, now grown old ‖, and ill of the Gout, had notwithſtanding an ambition to complete the conqueſt of Britain, and accordingly determined to go thither in perſon, taking his two ſons Caracalla and Geta with him. Se-

§ Year of Chriſt, 194. * Year of Chriſt, 195.
‖ Year of Chriſt, 208.

verus

verus ſet forward with a numerous army, and arrived in Britain much ſooner than the Caledonians expected, who being terrified at the approach of theſe mighty forces, immediately ſent ambaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſion. The emperor entertained them with fair words for a time; but having made the neceſſary preparations for his march, they were diſmiſſed without effecting any thing. The emperor ordered bridges to be made, to lay over the bogs and marſhy grounds, with which the north part of Britain then abounded, for thither he underſtood the Caledonians uſed to retire, and could not eaſily be purſued by the Romans.

Having paſſed Adrian's wall, he ordered the woods to be cut down, roads to be made over the hills, and drained or filled up the moraſſes in his way: but notwithſtanding all his caution, the Britons frequently ſurpriſed his troops, and cut off great numbers of them, though they never durſt engage the grand army, inſomuch that it is computed Severus did not loſe leſs than fifty thouſand men in this expedition. He perſiſted, however, to march to the moſt northern parts of Britain, compelling the Britons to accept of peace on ſuch terms as he thought fit to preſcribe. But, for the ſecurity of the ſouth, againſt future incurſions, he built a new wall of

ſtone croſs the iſland ‡, upwards of fourſcore miles in length, between Solway Frith, and the river Tyne, near the place where the wall built by the emperor Adrian formerly ſtood. Towers were built alſo on this wall at proper diſtances, and a large ditch for its defence. The emperor afterwards took upon him the title of Britannicus Maximus, and reſided at the city of York, leaving the command of the army to his ſon Antonius Caracalla; but he being intent upon his pleaſures, or, as ſome ſay, buſied in a conſpiracy againſt his father, the Caledonians had recourſe to arms again, and made incurſions into the Roman pale as formerly, whereupon the emperor commanded his ſon to march againſt them, and ſpare neither ſex or age, but extirpate the whole race. But the emperor dying at York ſoon after, his two ſons made peace with the Caledonians, and having received hoſtages, returned to Rome.

During the reign of the emperor Galienus, we underſtand there was a general revolt, and of the thirty tyrants, who took upon them the title of emperors, it is conjectured from their coins, that ſeveral of them reſided here, or uſurped the government of Britain.

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‡ Year of Chriſt, 211.

Carau-

Carauſius, a German of mean extraction, in the reign of Diocleſian, being made admiral of the Belgick and Armoric ſeas, then much infeſted by the Franks and Saxons, ſo inriched himſelf by the prizes he took, or by the bribes he received for not doing his duty, that he was thought dangerous to the ſtate, and underſtanding that Maximianus Herculeſ, Diocleſian's adopted ſon, was marching into Gaul againſt him, he paſſed over with his navy into Britain, and made himſelf maſter of the iſland; and having encreaſed his fleet, and aſſembled a conſiderable army here, bid defiance to Maximian, who having no fleet to oppoſe Carauſius, was content to aſſociate him with him in the empire, and yield the government of Britain to him. Carauſius repaired and fortified the wall built by Severus, and erected a triumphal arch in memory of ſome victory obtained thereabouts, and there are coins ſtill remaining of theſe two emperors joining hands. But ſome miſunderſtanding afterwards happening between them, Maximian ſent Conſtantius to beſiege Bologn, which was garriſoned by the forces of Carauſius. In the mean time, Carauſius was treacherouſly aſſaſſinated in Britain by Alectus, one of his friends, who aſſumed the imperial purple. Conſtantius immediately tranſported his army into Britain; where his forces defeated Alectus, and killed him in the field of battle.

Diocleſian and Maximian † voluntarily reſigning the empire to Conſtantius and Galerius, and Britain, and the weſtern provinces falling to the ſhare of Conſtantius, he came over into Britain, and while he was preparing for an expedition againſt the Picts, he died at York, appointing his ſon Conſtantine to ſucceed him; who happily arrived in Britain a little before his father expired. Conſtantine divided Britain into three provinces.

Upon the death of Conſtantine ‡, the empire was divided between his three ſons; Britain and the provinces on this ſide the Alps, falling to the ſhare of Conſtantine, the eldeſt. The Britons were ſoon after terribly harraſſed by the Picts, the Scots and Atticots from the north. Maximus was afterwards ſent into Britain, who did good ſervice againſt the Picts and Scots.

Theodoſius made his ſon Arcadius emperor of Conſtantinople; and Honorius emperor of Rome, who was then but ten years of age; in whoſe reign the Goths and Vandals breaking in upon the empire, the Roman legion left for the defence of Britain was withdrawn to aſſiſt the emperor. The Britons being thus deſerted, choſe Marcus their lieutenant for their ſovereign ||. But Marcus not anſwering their expectation, was ſoon after mur-

† Year of Chriſt, 308. ‡ Year of Chriſt, 337.
|| Year of Chriſt, 408.

dered

dered. After him they ſet up Gratianus, who was aſſaſſinated alſo before he had reigned four months. Conſtantine, a common ſoldier, was next pitched upon for their prince, from whoſe name the Britons promiſed themſelves great things.

The Britons, upon the death of Conſtantine, returned to the obedience of the Roman emperor, whoſe aid they implored againſt the Picts and Scots. They obtained one legion of Honorius, who drove the Picts again out of the province, reducing them to their ancient bounds, and adviſed the Britons to rebuild their wall: however, the Romans were no ſooner withdrawn, but the Scots and Picts broke in again, committing greater hoſtilities than ever. Mr. Rapin ſays, the end of the Roman dominion is to be fixed to the time of this legion quitting the iſland †.

In the twenty-third year ‡ of Theodoſius, the Britons ſent a letter, expreſſing their diſtreſs in very moving terms, to Ætius, then in Gaul. But he being then preparing to repulſe Attila, king of the Huns, who had entered Gaul, with an army of eighty thouſand men, was not in a condition to afford them any relief, and they were left to provide for

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* Year of Chriſt 426, or 427; but according to Stillingfleet, 418.

‡ Year of Chriſt, 446.

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themſelves as well as they could, after this country had been, reckoning from J. Cæſar's firſt invaſion, near five hundred years under the Roman dominion.

Before I cloſe this chapter, I ſhall give a ſhort account of the moſt remarkable wars that happened on the continent, during the period of time that this chapter takes up. The firſt was the ſiege of Jeruſalem by Titus, of which I have already given an account †, and ſhall therefore here omit.

The next was that of Vologeſes II. king of the Parthians ‡, with the Romans §. Volgeres having no enemy to contend with at home, fell unexpectedly upon Armenia, and near Elegia, ſurpriſed ſeveral legions, commanded by Severinus, a native of Gaul, and governor of Cappadocia; and cut them all in pieces, not ſo much as one eſcaping. He afterwards entered Syria, defeated, with a great ſlaughter, Attilius Cornelius, governor of that province, and advanced, without oppoſition, to the neighbourhood of Antioch, putting every-where the Romans, and thoſe

† See Vol. IV. p. 173. ‡ Year of Chriſt, 168.

§ The occaſion of this war is ſaid to have been becauſe M. Aurelius Antoninus, at this time emperor of Rome, had refuſed to reſtore to him the golden throne, which had been ſeized by Adrian,

who

who favoured them, to the ſword. Hereupon, the emperor Verus, by the advice of his colleague, Antoninus, leaving Rome, haſtened into Syria; and having driven the Parthians out of that province, ordered Statius Priſcus to invade Armenia, and Caſſius, with Martius Verus, to enter the Parthian territories, and carry the war into the enemy's country. Priſcus made himſelf maſter of Artaxata, and, in one campaign, drove the Parthians quite out of Armenia, though not without great loſs on his own ſide. Caſſius, on the other hand, having, in ſeveral encounters, defeated Vologeſes, though he had an army of four hundred thouſand men under his command, reduced, in four years time, all thoſe provinces which had formerly ſubmitted to Trajan; took Selucia, burnt and plundered the famous cities of Babylon, and Cteſiphon, with the ſtately palaces of the Parthian monarch.

On his return, he loſt above half the number of his forces by ſickneſs, and famine. It is ſaid that ſome of his ſoldiers, in pillaging the temple of Apollo, at Babylon, found, under ground, a ſmall golden coffer, which upon their opening it, caſt forth ſuch peſtilential vapours, as infected all thoſe who were preſent, and by their means, the reſt of the army. As the emperor, Verus, upon his return to Italy, took Caſſius's forces along with him, he carried the plague into all the pro-

provinces through which he paſſed, and ſpread the infection thro' Italy, whence it was communicated to the moſt remote parts of the empire, and every where attended with great mortality.

Sometime after, Vologeſes having recovered moſt of the provinces ſubdued by Caſſius, made a peace with the emperor Antoninus, upon condition that he ſhould hold his poſſeſſions of the emperor. But dying ſoon after, he was ſucceeded by his nephew Vologeſes III. who ſiding with one Niger againſt the emperor Severus, drew the emperor's reſentment upon him, who, marching with all his forces, advanced to the city of Cteſiphon, and there beſieged the king, who had retired into it.

The city was at laſt taken † by aſſault, after having been nobly defended by Vologeſes, and much blood ſhed on both ſides. The king's treaſures, with his wives and children, fell into the emperor's hands, but himſelf was ſo lucky as to eſcape, greatly to the diſappointment of Severus. The emperor gave up the city to be plundered by the ſoldiers, who put all the men to the ſword; but ſpared the women and children, whom, to the number of an hundred thouſand, were ſold for ſlaves. But the emperor had no

† Year of Chriſt, 198.

fooner

ſooner croſſed the Euphrates, than Vologeſes, returning with freſh forces, recovered all the provinces, except Meſopotamia, which he had reduced.

The year 348 was remarkable for a great battle between the Perſians and Romans, fought in the neighbourhood of Singarus, a city of Meſopotamia. The Perſians had poſted themſelves there, and fortified their camp with a deep ditch and ramparts; on which, as well as on the neighbouring hills, they had placed a great number of archers, and had beſide a very numerous army, compoſed of almoſt all the nations of the eaſt; Sopor, the Perſian king, being determined to put the whole upon the iſſue of a general engagement, and end, if poſſible by a ſingle victory, a tedious and expenſive war. He expected that the Romans would attack him in his camp, and therefore had fortified it with extraordinary care, and placed archers on all the eminences which commanded the avenues leading to it. As the Romans found they could by no means induce the enemy to come into the open field, they obliged Conſtantius, emperor of Conſtantinople, to lead them up to the very ramparts of their camp, which they attacked with inexpreſſible fury, and forced the camp, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance they met with from thoſe in it, and the hurt they ſuſtained from the arrows diſcharged upon them from the eminences.

nences. Great numbers of the Perſians were cut in pieces, and the reſt either put to flight or taken priſoners; among the latter, was the king's ſon, whom the Romans firſt publicly whipt with rods, and then put to death. The Romans thus got poſſeſſion of the enemy's camp, baggage, and treaſures. But while they thought themſelves very ſecure, and were quenching their drought with the freſh water, of which there was great plenty in the enemy's camp, the Perſian archers rallying, fell ſuddenly and unexpectedly upon the Romans, and wreſted the victory from them. This attack was in the night, and great numbers of the Romans were killed. However, as ſoon as day began to appear, the Perſians left the Romans in poſſeſſion of the camp, paſſed over the Tigris, and broke down the bridges which they had laid over the river, that the Romans might not purſue them.

The next year, the Perſians returned with a very great army, and a prodigious number of elephants, and warlike engines of all ſorts; and, after ravaging Meſopotamia, and taking ſeveral ſtrong holds there, ſet down before Niſibis the third time, having twice before been obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and left nothing unattempted to reduce this important city. The Perſians battered the walls for ſeveral days together, with many engines which they brought with them for that purpoſe, and at the ſame time, endea-

endeavoured to undermine them; but their efforts proving ineffectual, Sapor cauſed all the river Mygdonus, that flowed through the city, to be turned into a new channel, hoping by that means, to diſtreſs the inhabitants for want of water. But, finding them ſufficiently ſupplied with wells and ſprings within the walls, he cauſed the courſe of the river to be ſtopped, and by that means laid the whole country round the town under water; inſomuch that it ſeemed an iſland in the midſt of the ſea. His deſign was to overflow the town; but as it ſtood on a riſing ground, the water did not quite reach the tops of the walls. He therefore got together a vaſt number of ſhips and boats, from which he battered the walls with all kinds of warlike engines, for ſeven days ſucceſſively, but without the deſired effect; he then tried another experiment, by cauſing the river to be ſtopped above the city by a wall, or mole, of an extraordinary height and breadth; which being ſuddenly broken down, the waters ruſhed with ſuch violence againſt the wall of the city, that it was overturned, for the ſpace of an hundred cubits, and laid level with the ground.

The Perſians, ſuppoſing they had now gained the place, advanced with loud ſhouts to force an entrance, but were ſurpriſed at the vigorous reſiſtance of the garriſon and inhabitants, who forced them to retire, with a great loſs of men, horſes, and elephants.

Provi-

Providence itself seemed to interpose in favour of the inhabitants, for, during the attack, the Persians were so greatly terrified, with dreadful flashes of lightning, gusts of wind, and showers of rain, that they were incapable of offending the enemy, or even of defending themselves. Yet the king obstinately continued the siege; but as often as he renewed the attack, he was repulsed with great loss.

He had still other enemies, for his army was annoyed with swarms of small flies; which entering the nostrils of the horses, and the trunks of the elephants, made them so wild and ungovernable, that they trod great numbers of the Persians under foot, and crushed them to pieces. Their misery was still further increased by a dreadful famine, which soon introduced a plague, which made such dreadful havock, that in the end, Sapor, despairing of success, desisted from all further attempts, after a siege of near four months, and retired with the loss of upwards of twenty thousand men.

But some years after, Jovian, upon his becoming emperor, made a peace with the Persians for thirty years; and among other places, promised to yield up to them the city of Nisibis *. But when Bineses, a Persian lord,

* Year of Christ, 363.

came

came to demand the fulfilment of this promiſe, in the name of Sapor his maſter, the inhabitants did all that lay in their power to divert the emperor from complying with his demand; they earneſtly intreated him to give them leave to defend the place of their nativity, which they offered to do at their own expence. But Jovian inſiſting upon the faith of the treaty, and the obligation of his oath, Bineſes was, by his order, admitted into the city, of which he took poſſeſſion, in his maſter's name, by ſetting up the Perſian ſtandard. At the ſame time, the inhabitants were ordered to quit their native city, and retire elſe-where, with what they could carry with them.

Ammianus, the hiſtorian, ſays this order occaſioned the moſt melancholy ſight the ſun ever beheld *. But the emperor, ſtrictly adhering to his oath, was deaf to every thing; ſo that the city was evacuated in three days time, every one curſing, as they departed, a peace which had proved more fatal to them than the moſt bloody wars. All the roads were crowded with theſe unhappy exiles, loaded with what they could carry; but greatly grieved for the loſs of many things

* Chryſtome, in gent. tom. i. alſo deſcribes their removal out of the city, in very affecting terms.

which

which, for want of convenient carriages, they had been obliged to leave behind them: moſt of them retired to the city of Amida.

About the year of Chriſt 360, Sapor, or Sapores, II. king of Perſia, inveſted the city of Amida, which made a long defence, and coſt the king thirty thouſand men. At his firſt appearance before Amida, he had no deſign to beſiege it, but only to ſound the diſpoſition of the garriſon; and in caſe they refuſed to ſubmit, to march into Syria, as he intended; but the Romans having diſcharged againſt him as he drew near the walls, to ſhow himſelf in all his pomp and majeſty, a ſhower of darts, arrows, and javelins, one of which pierced his royal robes, and another having killed a youth of great expectation, the king was ſo enraged, that, altering his firſt intention, he determined at all hazards to revenge the affront offered to him, and the death of the young prince, with the utter deſtruction of the city, and of all its inhabitants †. He aſſaulted the place with the utmoſt fury, whilſt the beſieged defended it with uncommon vigour, and no leſs reſolution and intrepidity; but at length moſt of the garriſon being killed, and the few ſurvivors greatly weakened with labour and watching, the wall being in ſeveral places

† Ammianus, l. xviii.

beat down to the ground, and the ditches filled up with dead bodies; the Persians made a last effort, and entered the town sword in hand, after having besieged it seventy-five days, with the loss of upwards of thirty thousand men. The city was razed, the chief officers crucified, and the rest, with the soldiers and inhabitants, either put to the sword, or carried into captivity, except Ammianus, the historian, who was shut up in the town, and an eye-witness of all that passed, and two or three more, who, in the dead of the night, escaped through a postern, unobserved by the enemy.

The next memorable war during this period, was that of Strasbourg *, between the Alemans † and Romans ‡. The Alemans made several irruptions into the empire, particularly in the time of Constantius the emperor;

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* Or Argentoratum, as it was then called.

† The Alemans made their first appearance about the year 214, in the fourth year of the reign of the emperor Caracalla. They were originally a motly multitude, consisting of several nations; whence called Alemans; because they consisted of *All Men*; though some German writers, displeased with this etymology, derive the name from Atelman, signifying, *a man of distinction*; but the former seems to be the true original.

‡ Year of Christ, 357.

who,

who, determined to put an end to the outrages committed by them in Gaul, wrote to Julian, afterwards emperor, now Governor of Gaul, to march with all his forces againſt them; and at the ſame time ſent Barbatio, who was general of the foot, with 25, or 35,000 men, in order to ſurpriſe, and incloſe, the enemy, between two armies. He had betrayed Gallius under whom he ſerved, and now ſtudied how to check the progreſs of Julian. The latter no ſooner heard of his arrival at Baſle, than he took the field, having with him only thirteen thouſand men. But the Leti, a German nation, paſſing between the two armies, advanced as far as Lyons, deſigning to ſurpriſe, and pillage, that wealthy city; but meeting with a warmer reception than they expected, were obliged to be contented with ravaging the open country. Julian, apprized of their motions, placed ſeveral parties in the paſſes through which they were to return, and cut them all off, except thoſe who marched near the camp of Barbatio; who is ſuppoſed to have connived at their retreat: the other barbarians fortified themſelves in the countries which they had ſeized. Julian endeavoured to attack them, but was ſtrangely counteracted, and prevented, by Barbatio: however, determined to do what he could of himſelf, he perſuaded ſome of the moſt reſolute of his men to wade over to one of the

iſlands, where they killed all the Germans who had taken ſhelter there; and ſeizing their boats, purſued the ſlaughter in ſeveral other iſlands, till the enemy abandoning them all, retired with their wives, and what booty they could carry, to their reſpective countries.

Julian, after this, undertook the rebuilding of the Tres-tabernæ *, which the enemy had demoliſhed. He had not only repaired the ancient fortifications, but added new works to them, as it was coveniently ſituated to prevent irruptions into Gaul. In the mean time the enemy fell unexpectedly upon Barbatio, killed a great number of his men, took moſt of his baggage, laid waſte the neighbouring country; and, loaded with booty, returned in triumph.

This filled them with ſuch high ſpirits, that they aſſembled in great numbers under the banners of Chnodomarius, a prince of great renown among them, and ſix other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Straſbourg ‡. Knowing that Julian had but thirteen thouſand men with him, Chnodomarius ſent a haughty and menacing meſſage, commanding him to abandon forthwith

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† A fort near Straſbourg, in Alſace, now known by the name of Saverne.

‡ Year of Chriſt, 357.

the country which the Germans had conquered by their courage, and valour. But Julian paying no regard to the meſſage, detained the bringer of it, and went on with the fortifications he was about, till he received advice that the enemy was advancing within twenty miles of the camp; and then marched towards them.

When he was about half way, he halted, intending to reſt his men, and put off the battle to the next day. But both officers and ſoldiers demanding to be led without delay againſt the enemy, he continued his march, and found the Germans, who were aware of his approach, prepared to receive him. Their army conſiſted of thirty-five thouſand men, headed by ſeven kings, ten princes, and other perſons of great diſtinction. And now the battle begun, with great intrepidity and reſolution on both ſides, and victory continued a long time doubtful. The Roman cavalry gave way, nor could the oratory of Julian prevail upon them to rally and return to the charge. But the vigorous reſiſtance made by the foot, ſo diſheartened the enemy, that, after having attempted ſeveral times in vain to break them, they loſt much of their impetuoſity; which being obſerved by the Romans, they made one effort more; and charging the barbarians, now quite ſpent, put them to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. Vaſt numbers of them threw

themſelves into the Rhine, which was in their rear, and were drowned. Chnodomarius himſelf was taken priſoner, and preſented to Julian, who ſent him to the emperor Conſtantius, by whoſe order he was conveyed to Rome, where he ſoon after died a natural death.

In this battle, Julian loſt only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men. The Alemans had ſix, or eight, thouſand men killed in the field, and a vaſt many dead bodies were ſeen floating on the river; this victory reſtored peace to Gaul; at leaſt, during the life of Julian.

Though many other important ſieges and battles took place within the period of time that this chapter takes up, yet the accounts that remain of them, are too conciſe to afford any entertainment; I ſhall therefore quit the continent, and return again to our own iſland, to inquire how our brave anceſtors conducted their wars during the times of the Saxons, which will be the ſubject of the next chapter.

CHAP. II.

Of the Britiſh *wars during the uſurpation of the* Saxons.

IN the laſt chapter, I mentioned the Britons ſending to Rome for aſſiſtance, againſt the invaſions of the Scots and Picts; but the Romans being unable to afford them any help, they were left to ſtruggle with their enemies as well as they could. But theſe ſtruggles to preſerve their liberties, I ſhall paſs over with all poſſible brevity, till ſuch time as hiſtory affords a more circumſtantial account of their wars.

The Britons then finding they could have no relief from the Romans, and being reduced to great extremity by a famine, knew not by what methods to relieve their diſtreſs. Many of them fled to Armorica *, others ſubmitted to the Scots and Picts; whilſt others, abhorring ſlavery, placing their confidence in

* Now Bretagne;
Gaul Armoric the Britons overcame,
And to the conquered province gave their name.

God,

God, betook themſelves to their arms, and, ſallying out in parties from woods and caves, fell upon the enemy, while they were roving up and down the country, cut numbers of them in pieces, and forced the reſt to retire, probably to the country about the wall, either abandoned by the Britons, or inhabited by ſuch of them as had ſubmitted to the invaders *.

But it was not long before the Britons were alarmed with a new report, that the Scots and Picts were returning with a greater force than ever, being determined utterly to extirpate the natives, and plant themſelves in their room. Vortigern, count, or king, of the Danmonii †, was now the chief, if not the only, king of Britain, a proud, covetous, and debauched, tyrant, entirely regardleſs of the public welfare, neither qualified for the field, or cabinet. In the preſent emergency, he ſummoned a council, in which an expedient was agreed upon; which in the end proved the deſtruction of the Britons. This was to call in the Saxons, a warlike people of Germany, to their aid againſt the Picts and Scots. Accordingly ambaſſadors were ſent over, and Witigiſel, the Saxon general, hav-

* Uſher ſuppoſes the Scots retired to Ireland, their original country.

† Who inhabited Cornwall.

ing convened an assembly to hear what they had to say, it was agreed to grant them nine thousand men, and Hengist and Horsa, the sons of Witigisil, were appointed to command them. However, at first they shipped off only part of the number, who arrived *, under the conduct of the two brothers abovementioned, at Ebbesfleet in the isle of Thanet in Kent, and were immediately put in possession of that island, which had before been agreed upon. The Picts and Scots were by this time advanced as far as Stamford in Lincolnshire, and the Saxons, after having a little refreshed themselves, marched against them with such success, that they forced them to retire by degrees into their own country.

Vortigern's proposal of calling in the Saxons, was to establish his own power, and to secure himself from any designs that might be formed against him, either by those who were dissatisfied with his government, or were ambitious of raising themselves to the same supreme authority. Hence he used all his arts to win over the Saxons to his side.

Hengist began to hope, from the weakness of the Britons, that he should be able to procure a settlement in the island, and to this end endeavoured to make his advantage of

* Year of Christ, 449.

the

the fears and ambition of Vortigern, and ſo wrought upon him, by repreſenting the danger he was in from the diſaffection of his ſubjects, as to perſuade him to ſend over for the reſt of the Saxons that were deſigned for Britain. Accordingly they arrived the next year, in ſixteen large veſſels, and with them Eſcus, the eldeſt ſon, and Rowena, the niece of Hengiſt.

Vortigern was a weak prince, and eaſily deluded; Hengiſt was ſharp-ſighted, and made the monarch's weakneſs, in every thing, ſubſervient to his deſigns. Finding Vortigern was of an amorous diſpoſition, he contrived an interview between him and his niece the beautiful Rowena; with whoſe charms being ſmitten, he reſolved to marry her, and, to that end, divorced his former wife, and complied ſo far as to give Hengiſt and Horſa the entire ſovereignty of Kent, with leave to people it with Saxons.

The Britons murmured in vain againſt theſe proceedings, Vortigern and Hengiſt being reſolved to ſtand by each other; and the crafty Saxon, that he might be the better enabled to cope with them, and even at laſt to act without Vortigern, ſo wrought upon his fears and jealouſies, that he conſented to the bringing over more Saxon forces, who arrived in great numbers *, under the command

* Year of Chriſt, 452.

of Octa, brother to Hengiſt, who brought his ſon Ebuſa along with him, and ſettled themſelves in the north. And now having brought matters to bear, he complained that the Saxon ſoldiers were not paid according to the agreement, demanded their arrears, and threatened to do himſelf juſtice, if they were not ſpeedily paid.

The Britons, now, though late, were effectually rouſed out of their lethargy; but all their efforts for freeing themſelves from their foreign enemies, were unhappily defeated, as had all along been the caſe, from their own inteſtine diviſions. Their firſt ſtruggle with the Saxons, whom now they plainly ſaw, under the pretence of friendly auxiliaries, to have a deſign of eſtabliſhing themſelves in their country, was under Vortimer, eldeſt ſon to Vortigern. In the firſt battle, which was fought in 455, and in which Horſa was ſlain, they are ſaid to have got the better of the Saxons, and in the next to have loſt all again. At length Ambroſius, who was of Roman extraction, was by a great party ſet up as their leader; but here enſued a civil war between his party and Vortimer's, in which the Britons miſerably harraſſed one another, whilſt the Saxons made their advantage of theſe diviſions, and grew ſtronger and ſtronger, having at the ſame time ſtruck up a peace with the Picts, the more effectually to annoy the Britons. However, after a twenty

a twenty years war, at the end of which Vortimer died, both ſides were inclined to peace, which was concluded in 475, on condition each party ſhould keep what they had got.

The peace continued not long. Hengiſt could not reliſh being diſappointed in his deſign of making himſelf maſter of Britain, and therefore, finding himſelf not able as yet to accompliſh it by force of arms, had recourſe to treachery. He cauſed three hundred Britiſh nobles to be aſſaſſinated, whom he had invited to an entertainment, whilſt friendſhip ſeemed to ſubſiſt between the two nations. This made the Britons hate the Saxons more than ever, and a war ſoon enſued; in which the Britons, firſt under Ambroſius, and then under the famous Arthur, obtained many ſignal victories over the Saxons; but the misfortune was, that the Britons were waſted and diminiſhed by this long war, and the Saxons were continually recruited by the coming over of vaſt numbers of their nation, and of Jutes and Angles, who, with the Saxons, made, as it were, one people in Germany, as they did afterwards in Britain; and were altogether commonly called Saxons, or Anglo-Saxons. By this means the Britons were, at length, after the death of the above-mentioned princes, who both fell in battle, entirely ſubdued.

Soon after * Ella, a Saxon general, at the the invitation of Hengiſt, arrived in Britain, with his ſons Baldulphus, Colgrin, and Ciſſa. He landed his troops at Whitering in Suſſex, and, after ſome oppoſition from the Britons, ſettled by degrees along the ſouthern coaſt; and ſo they were called Sud, or South Saxons, and their country Suſſex. Thoſe that Hengiſt had eſtabliſhed in the Eaſt, were called Eaſt Saxons, and their country Eſſex; and the country between theſe two was termed Middleſex. Kent retained its antient name.

Vortigern being purſued by Ambroſius, as an enemy to his country, fled to a caſtle in Wales, where being beſieged, the caſtle took fire and was burnt to the ground, and the unhappy Vortigern periſhed in the flames †

In the year 488 the famous Hengiſt died, aged about ſixty-nine years, thirty-nine of which he had paſſed in Britain, and the laſt thirty-three as king of Kent. Soon after Ella took on himſelf the title of king of Suſſex, or of the South Saxons.

Some time after ‖ Cerdick, another Saxon General, arrived in Britain, with his ſon Kenrick, and having firmly ſettled himſelf, after many bloody battles for the ſpace of above twenty years, aſſumed the title of king of Weſſex, or of the Weſt Saxons, which

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* Year of Chriſt, 477. † Year of Chriſt, 485.
‖ Year of Chriſt, 495.

kingdom

kingdom at laſt became the head of all the reſt †.

A new reinforcement of Saxons came over ‡ from Germany under the conduct of Porta. And not long after, the Saxons conſidering, that, whilſt their troops were divided, they run the riſk of loſing in one place what they gained in another, reſolved to unite all their forces, the better to withſtand the progreſs of Arthur; which accordingly they did, and made Cerdick General of the whole army.

Another new ſupply of Saxon troops arrived ‖ under Stuff and Withgar, nephews to Cerdick. And in 527 Erchenwin aſſumed the title of King of Eſſex, or of the Eaſt Saxons.

About this time great numbers of Angles, under the conduct of Uffa, and eleven other chiefs, landed ſomewhere on the eaſtern coaſt of Britain; where continually gaining ground, and ſending for freſh colonies from Germany, they at length founded the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles.

Some years after §, Cerdick attacked and conquered the iſle of Wight, cruelly deſtroy-

† From him were deſcended the kings of England in the male line, down to Edward the Confeſſor; and in the female, down to his late majeſty.

‡ Year of Chriſt, 501. ‖ Year of Chriſt, 514.

§ Year of Chriſt, 530.

ing almoſt all the inhabitants; and, not long after, he ſent into Germany to invite over all who had a mind to come and ſettle in his kingdom. Accordingly eight hundred veſſels arrived in his ports, on board of which were vaſt numbers of Saxons and Jutes, with their families, who ſeated themſelves in his territories, in the room of the Britons whom he had expelled.

About four years after † Cerdick died, being ſixteen years after his coronation, and thirty-nine after his arrival in Britain.

After Arthur's death, the diſmayed Britons had neither courage nor power to defend themſelves; upon which great numbers of people reſolved to go over and ſettle in Britain. Ida, an Angle, accordingly arrived, with a great many of his countrymen, who landed in Yorkſhire among the Northumbrian Saxons, and were received by them as friends: and Ida finding they were willing to obey him, got himſelf acknowledged by them, as well as by thoſe he brought over with him, King of Northumberland, ſo called becauſe it lay north of the Humber. After a reign of twelve years Ida died §; on whoſe death the kingdom of Northumberland was divided into two parts, Bernicia to the north, and Deira to the ſouth.

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† Year of Chriſt, 534. § Year of Chriſt, 559.

Keaulin,

Keaulin, the third king of the Weſt Saxons, being an ambitious prince, formed deſigns of enlarging his dominions, and, in order to effect it, turned his arms againſt his countrymen, and began the firſt civil war among the Saxons.

About this time † Uffa took the title of king of the Eaſt Angles.

Keaulin having brought the kings of Kent, Eſſex, and Suſſex to ſubmit to him, turned his arms againſt the Britons, and in a ſeven years war extremely weakened them.

The Britons were now at the laſt gaſp, and their utter deſtruction ſeemed to be at hand. In this extremity they applied to the Scots for their aſſiſtance, who accordingly joined them, and in the firſt battle beat Keaulin's army; but in the ſecond were entirely defeated in their turn, the Scots being obliged to retire into their own country, and the diſtreſſed Britons left to ſhift for themſelves.

To complete their ruin Crida arrived ‡, with a larger fleet than any that had before come from Germany, bringing over a vaſt number of Angles. He advanced towards the middle of the iſland, driving the Britons before him wherever he came; and out of his conqueſts founded the kingdom of the Middle Angles, or Mercians, larger than any of the others.

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† Year of Chriſt, 571. ‡ Year of Chriſt, 584.

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The Britons now took to their laſt refuge, which was to retreat into Cambria, where they remain to this day, which the Saxons called Walliſh Land, that is, Gauliſh Land; which the Engliſh now call Wales.

Thus the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, or, as they are altogether called, Anglo Saxons, obtained a complete ſettlement in the iſland, after a war of about 130 years, and with one conſent gave the name of England, that is, The Land of the Angles, to the ſeven kingdoms they had eſtabliſhed, now poſſeſſed by four different nations, 1. The Britons, or Welſh, confined to Cambria, or Wales, and the weſtern part of Danmonium, i. e. Cornwall. 2. The Picts, who inhabited the Eaſt part of what is now called Scotland. 3. The Scots, who inhabited the Weſtern part. 4. The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, all comprehended under the name of the Engliſh, who now had all the Southern part of Britain, from the Channel to Severus's Wall, and a little beyond, towards the Eaſt. This was divided into ſeven kingdoms, thence called the Heptarchy; during the continuance of which, ſome one of the ſeven kings exerciſed a kind of dominion over the reſt.

Ethelbert, king of Kent, though his kingdom was the ſmalleſt, was the firſt who claimed this ſuperiority, and carried his pretenſions ſo far, as to make war upon thoſe who refuſed him their homage. But as there

is

is nothing, during this period, ſufficiently intereſting, or ſuitable to the main deſign of this work, I ſhall paſs over the times of the Heptarchy †, till Egbert, king of Weſſex, became ſole king ‡ of England §, by the conqueſt of the other kingdoms. This monarch was deſcended from Ingild, the brother of king Ina, and the neareſt in blood to the Weſt Saxon crown, when Birthrick uſurped his throne, and would have taken away his life, if he had not fled to Offa, king of the Mercians, and afterwards to Charles the Great. Egbert being poſſeſſed of good parts, improved by a liberal education, became ſtill better qualified for government by his obſervations on foreign countries, and ſeemed deſerving of the empire he afterwards acquired, better than any of his contemporaries. Upon a deputation from the nobility

† The Heptarchy, if we reckon from the founding of Mercia, the laſt of the ſeven kingdoms, continued 243 years; if from the arrival of Hengiſt, the Saxon, 378 years.

‡ Year of Chriſt, 827, or 828.

§ Upon the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, or, as they are altogether called, Anglo-Saxons, having made a complete ſettlement in the iſland, after a war of about 130 years, they, with one conſent, gave the name of England, that is, the *Land of the Angles*, to the ſeven kingdoms they had eſtabliſhed.

of

of the Weſt Saxons, inviting him to take poſſeſſion of the throne of that kingdom, vacant by the death of Birthrick, he was received with univerſal joy. Having eſtabliſhed himſelf in the affections of his people, he endeavoured to reſtrain the incurſions of the Britons, his neighbours in Cornwall, in which he proved ſucceſsful.

The king of Mercia, Beornwolf, jealous of Egbert's power, found a pretence to declare war againſt him, and a battle was fought between them at Ellundune in Wiltſhire †, in which Egbert obtained the victory, which he took care to improve, by ſending a detachment of his troops, immediately after the battle, commanded by his ſon Ethelwolph, to reduce the kingdom of Kent; which was found an eaſy conqueſt. He afterwards turned his arms againſt Mercia, and having made a conqueſt of that kingdom, he ſuffered Withlof their prince, and other of the Saxon princes, to retain the name of kings, with ſome little authority.

The Northumbrians now only remained unconquered, but they were ſo broken with inteſtine diviſions, that they were able to make but little oppoſition. The confuſion this people were in gave great encouragement to the Danes to infeſt their coaſts, and

† Year of Chriſt, 823.

was

was the principal reaſon of the ſucceſs thoſe pyrates met with on that ſide. And when Egbert appeared in the north, there being no prince or general to oppoſe him, he had no more to do than to demand their ſubmiſſion.

Egbert being now become ſole monarch of South Britain, cauſed himſelf to be crowned at Wincheſter *. When this victorious prince had thus reduced all the Saxon kingdoms into one, it might have been expected that the nation ſhould have enjoyed an uninterrupted peace for ſome ſhort time at leaſt: but another flood of northern people, out of thoſe very countries from whence the Saxons came, denominated Danes and Normans, breaking out about this time, infeſted the Engliſh, Belgick, and Gallick ſhores, committing unheard of outrages wherever they came.

The firſt conſiderable deſcent the Danes made on the coaſt of England, in this reign, was at the iſle of Shippey, in Kent †.

The next year they landed at Charmouth in Dorſetſhire, and were ſo very ſtrong, that, 'tis ſaid, they defeated the Engliſh army commanded by Egbert in perſon. However, the Danes retired to their ſhips again, under an apprehenſion that greater forces would ſoon be aſſembled againſt them.

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* Year of Chriſt, 832. † Year of Chriſt, 832.

About

About two years after another fleet of Danes arrived in the Weſt of England, and entering into a confederacy with the Corniſh Britons, ventured to engage king Egbert a ſecond time; but he now gave them an entire defeat.

A few years after †, king Egbert died at Wincheſter, where he was buried. He was ſucceeded in all his dominions by his eldeſt ſon Ethelwolph. This prince, 'tis ſaid, had his education in the monaſtery of Wincheſter, and had been a monk. The Danes made ſeveral deſcents upon the coaſt in the beginning of this reign: they landed, particularly, at Southampton and Portſmouth, and on the coaſt of Kent; ſometimes their parties prevailing, and at other times defeated by the Engliſh. About the ſeventh year of this reign they ſurpriſed Canterbury, Rocheſter, and even London itſelf, ravaging all the country in a moſt barbarous manner. But the peaceful Ethelwolph being at length awakened by theſe repeated devaſtations, and the miſeries of his ſubjects, in the ninth year of his reign engaged them, and gave them ſuch a defeat, that the nation was at quiet from their depredations for ſix years after.

In the fifteenth year of this reign, theſe Daniſh rovers returned again, and landing in

† Year of Chriſt, 836.

Kent,

Kent, plundered London a ſecond time; defeating, afterwards, the Viceroy of Mercia; but marching into Surry, they were attacked by king Ethelwolph in perſon, who obtained a complete victory over them. In Kent and Devonſhire other parties of the Danes alſo were repulſed, and forced to fly to their ſhips. The Danes, however, returned again ſoon after, and landing in Kent, fought another battle with the Engliſh, where both ſides claimed the victory; but the Danes, probably, had the advantage; for they proceeded in their devaſtations as formerly.

King Ethelwolph travelled to Rome *. In his abſence a conſpiracy was formed againſt him, in which it was intended to have ſet his eldeſt ſon Ethelbald upon the throne; which this peaceable king was ſo far from reſenting, that he voluntarily conſented to ſhare his dominions with him in his life-time. He died on the 13th of January ‡, and was buried at Wincheſter.

Ethelbald, who was a voluptuous prince, ſucceeded his father; and, having reigned about three years, died on the 20th of December §, and was buried in the cathedral of Sherburn in Dorſetſhire.

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* Year of Chriſt, 855. ‡ Year of Chriſt, 857.
§ Year of Chriſt, 860.

Ethelbert,

Ethelbert, the ſecond ſon of Ethelwolph, ſucceeded his brother in the whole monarchy; in whoſe reign the Danes landed with a numerous body of forces, and plundered even his capital city of Wincheſter; but were overtaken, in their return, by Oſrick earl of Southampton, and defeated, being compelled to abandon all their booty: they ſailed, however, to the iſle of Thanet, and took up their winter quarters there, ravaging the country about them in their uſual manner; but a conſiderable body of troops aſſembling on that ſide, they were again driven to their ſhips. Ethelbert having reigned five years, died, much lamented, and was buried near his brother Ethelbald, in the cathedral church of Sherburn.

Ethelred, the third ſon of Ethelwolph, ſucceeded § his brother Ethelbert. Soon after his acceſſion a great body of Danes, under the command of two brothers, Hinguar and Hubba, made a deſcent in Eaſt England, and by means of clapping up a truce with that part of the country, remained there all the winter, in order to provide themſelves with horſes againſt the enſuing ſummer, when they paſſed the Humber, and advanced as far Northward as York, which they burnt and plundered, with the

§ Year of Chriſt, 363.

whole

whole country about it. The next year the Danes penetrated into Mercia, and took up their winter quarters at Nottingham; whereupon Burhed, king, or viceroy, of that country, ſending to Ethelred for a reinforcement, he aſſembled his forces, and came to their relief in perſon; the Danes hereupon ſhut up themſelves in the ſtrong towns and fortreſſes, and avoided coming to an engagement, till a truce was concluded; whereby it was agreed that the Danes ſhould abandon Mercia, and return to York. The next year, however, they marched to the Southward again, and deſtroyed the famous abby of Bardney, killing all the monks they found there, and continued to deſtroy the county of Lincoln with fire and ſword. Whereupon the nobility of that part of England, with ſome brave knights, and even monks, of Croyland, and other abbeys, aſſembled to oppoſe them, and gave them battle; but were overpowered by the Danes, and moſt of them cut in pieces. Then they marched to Peterborough, Huntingdon and Grantbrig, now Cambridge, carrying ruin and deſolation with them wherever they went, particularly they deſtroyed the fine monaſtery of Ely, and killed the monks, beſides a great number of other people, who had retired thither, as to a place of ſecurity. The next year they took up their winter quarters at Thetford in Norfolk, where Edmund, the titular king of

that

that country, giving them ſome oppoſition, was defeated, and, being taken priſoner, was tied to a ſtake, where they firſt whipped him, and then ſhot at him with their arrows, and having given him many deſperate wounds, at length ordered his head to be cut off. He was afterwards buried at a place in Suffolk, called, from thence, St. Edmund's Bury.

King Ethelred ſat ſtill in the Weſt all this while; but ſince he would not move to meet the Danes, it ſeems they reſolved to give him a viſit in the Weſt. Ethelred, hearing of their approach, aſſembled his troops, and advanced to meet them as far as Reading; and ſo equally were theſe powers matched, that, in four, or five, battles which were fought between them, or their generals, in as many months, none of them proved deciſive. In the latter end of the ſummer Ethelred died ||.

Alfred, the fourth ſon of king Ethelwolph, and grandſon of Egbert, at twenty-two years of age, ſucceeded to the throne on the death of his brother Ethelred. It was not a month after the ſolemnization of his brother's funeral, when he was obliged to appear at the head of his army, and came to a battle with the Danes at Wilton, where, after an obſtinate engagement, he was forced to leave

|| Year of Chriſt, 872.

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ALFRED.

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the field to his enemies; and in this one year no leſs than eight, or nine, battles were fought between them; in which the young Alfred's conduct was ſuch, that the Danes were glad to come to a treaty, and conſent, once more, to quit the kingdom. However, the following year, they returned again, penetrated as far as Reading, and from thence marched to London, where they took up their winter quarters.

The next ſummer ‡ they marched northwards, and having depoſed Burhed, the titular king, or viceroy, of Mercia, marched further northward, deſtroying all the country as far as Scotland. Alfred obſerving that all theſe calamities proceeded from his enemies being maſters at ſea; for he had no ſooner defeated one body of them, but freſh troops came daily pouring in upon him, he ſet himſelf, principally, to encreaſe his ſhipping; and was ſo ſucceſsful in his firſt ſea-expedition, that he drove one of their ſquadrons from the coaſt, which was coming over with freſh troops, and made prize of one of their ſhips.

The Danes, however, having ſubdued all the North and Eaſt part of England *, ventured again into Weſt Saxony, but were ſo warmly received by Alfred, that they were

‡ Year of Chriſt, 874. * Year of Chriſt, 876.

forced

forced to come to a treaty with him; wherein they promiſed to abandon the country again. However, this perfidious people diſcovering ſome advantage, broke the treaty, and ſurpriſed Exeter, where they maintained themſelves the following winter. The next year a great fleet of Danes coming with freſh recruits upon the Weſt Saxon coaſt, to ſupport their friends in Exeter, were moſt part of them deſtroyed, either by tempeſt, or the ſhipping of king Alfred, who was then at the ſiege of Exeter; and the beſieged being acquainted with the misfortune of their friends, agreed to ſurrender the city, and march all their troops out of Weſt Saxony; from whence they moved towards Mercia.

The year following * the Danes returned into Weſt Saxony again, and were ſo ſucceſful, that they made themſelves maſters of all the open part of the country, obliging king Alfred himſelf to fly to the woods and bogs for his ſecurity, with only ſome few followers, inſomuch that neither the Dane, or his own ſubjects, knew whether he was dead, or living. There were, it ſeems, but very few caſtles, or places of ſtrength, in England, in theſe times, inſomuch, that if an army happened to be defeated, the woods and mountains were almoſt the only places they had to

* Year of Chriſt, 878.

retreat to; one caſtle, however, we have an account of at Kenwith in Devonſhire, garriſoned by king Alfred's troops, which very much harraſſed the Danes, and was ſo troubleſome, that they reſolved to ſit down before it, under the command of their king Hafden; but the Engliſh made ſo many briſk ſallies, that the Danes were compelled to raiſe the ſiege. King Alfred obſerving the advantage of building fortreſſes to reſtrain the incurſions of the Danes, cauſed another to be built at Athelney, in Somerſetſhire, from whence he frequently iſſued with his troops, and fell upon the Daniſh parties; and his ſubjects finding him now in ſome condition to protect them, joined him from all parts; inſomuch that he found himſelf, in a ſhort time, at the head of a conſiderable army again: but apprehending the enemy ſtill to be ſuperior to him in numbers, before he would venture upon an engagement, he thought it proper to be well informed of the condition of the Daniſh forces in thoſe parts; and accordingly diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a fidler, and went into the Daniſh camp, by which means he procured himſelf to be introduced to ſome of the general's quarters, and at length to their king's, where having found in what a careleſs ſecurity the whole army lay, he returned again to his camp, and commanding the troops to their arms, he marched with the utmoſt ſecrecy and expe-

dition, and ſurpriſed the Danes, giving them one of the greateſt defeats they had met with ſince their arrival in England: whereupon a treaty followed; in which it was agreed, that the Danes ſhould march out of Weſt Saxony into Eaſt Saxony and Eaſt England, of which countries king Alfred conſented to make a ceſſion to them.

Soon after this treaty, however, another fleet of Danes arrived in the Thames mouth, and ſailed up as high as Fulham; king Alfred being convinced there was no other way to prevent their inſults, than by encreaſing his navy, applied himſelf with greater diligence than ever to the building of ſhips; and in about three years † he aſſembled ſuch a fleet as pretty well cleared the ſeas of the Daniſh rovers; to whom thoſe of Mercia, Eaſt Saxony, and Eaſt Angles, having given ſome aſſiſtance, Alfred marched againſt them, and retook the city of London, which had been a conſiderable time in the poſſeſſion of the Danes. Alfred's forces being every where victorious, the Engliſh returned again to their habitations in Mercia, Kent, and Eaſt England, from whence they had been driven by the Danes; and the nation was freed from their incurſions for about the ſpace of eight years §.

† Year of Chriſt, 885. § Year of Chriſt, 886.

The

The Danes and Normans having invaded France §, and meeting with greater oppoſition than they expected there, from the emperor, Arnwolf embarked again, in two hundred and fifty veſſels, and came over to England, landing in Kent, where they fortified themſelves. And not long after another fleet, of eighty ſail, entered the mouth of the Thames; with theſe joined the Danes of Northumberland, Mercia, and Eſſex; ſo that the whole kingdom was, in a ſhort time, in the utmoſt diſtraction again, and the Danes once more made themſelves maſters of Exeter †. Alfred, however, ſecured London and Rocheſter from their depredations.

This prince died in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign, on the twenty-fifth of October; and was buried at Wincheſter.

Alfred was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, Edward ‖, uſually called, King Edward the Elder. The beginning of his reign was diſturbed by the pretenſions of his couſin Ethelwald, ſaid to be the ſon of Ethelred, his father's elder brother, who joining with the Danes, invaded Mercia, and was very near wreſting the ſcepter out of the hands of Edward; but a great battle being fought be-

§ Year of Chriſt, 893. † Year of Chriſt, 897.
‖ Year of Chriſt, 900.

tween them †, in which Ethelwald was killed, a peace was concluded with the Danes, which continued till the year 910, and the breach of it aſcribed to the perfidiouſneſs of the Danes. King Edward made this a pretence to march his army into Northumberland, compelling the Danes to ſubmit to his own terms. The Danes, notwithſtanding, returned his viſit the next year, marching into Mercia, and deſtroying all they met with, till the king's forces engaged them, and gave them another memorable defeat at Cantbridge in Glouceſterſhire. Though the Danes made ſome other attempts to diſturb king Edward's reign, being always defeated, ſome of them were compelled to fly beyond ſea, and the reſt, at length, ſubmitted to his government; as did the Scots and Britons. He reigned about twenty-four years, and died at Farrington in Berkſhire, and was buried near his father, in the monaſtery of Wincheſter.

King Edward appointed Athelſtan, his ſon, his ſucceſſor. In the beginning of his reign §, Ingauld, a Daniſh king, ſurpriſed York, and Sithrick, the Daniſh king of Northumberland, marched into Cheſhire; but Sithrick meeting with a greater oppoſition than he expected, made his ſubmiſſion; but dying

† Year of Chriſt, 905. § Year of Chriſt, 924.

not

not long after, Athelſtan thereupon added Northumberland to the reſt of his dominions, and now reigned in England without a rival; Godefrid, the ſon of Sithrick, flying for refuge into Scotland, and his brother Anlaf into Ireland. Some time after Godefrid, having aſſembled an army, made an attempt to recover his inheritance, and laid ſiege to the city of York; but being obliged to retire from thence, he went to ſea with four, or five, ſhips, ſubſiſting himſelf and his followers by plundering the towns on the coaſt, and the prizes he took at ſea ‡.

Anlaf, the other brother, aſſembled a body of Danes, and, being aſſiſted by the king of Scots, marched with a numerous army into England; whereupon an obſtinate battle was fought in Northumberland, between the Engliſh on one ſide, and the Scots and Danes on the other; in which 'tis ſaid more men were killed, than in any battle ſince the Danes firſt infeſted the Engliſh ſhores.

Turkettle, the chancellor, with the troops of London, 'tis ſaid, did wonders here, killing Conſtantine, the Scottiſh king, in the field of battle; whereupon the Scots and Danes fled, leaving the victory to the Engliſh; which ſo eſtabliſhed king Athelſtan's reputation among the princes of Europe, that

‡ Year of Chriſt, 938.

the emperor Henry ſent to court his alliance, and to deſire he would give one of his ſiſters in marriage to his ſon Otho; Hugh king of France deſired another for his ſon; and Lewis prince of Acquitain a third for himſelf: and from all theſe princes came ambaſſadors, with rich preſents, ſuch as had never been made, 'tis ſaid, to any Engliſh monarch before.

King Athelſtan afterwards invaded the Welſh, and obliged Ludwal, the greateſt of their kings, to pay the following annual tribute, viz. Twenty pounds weight of gold, three hundred weight of ſilver, twenty-five thouſand oxen, and whatever hounds and hawks he ſhould demand. He marched afterwards againſt the Weſtern Britons, many of whom, 'tis ſaid, ſtill remained in Exeter, and other parts of Devonſhire, and enjoyed eſtates and poſſeſſions promiſcuouſly with the Engliſh, theſe he obliged to retire into Cornwall, making the river Tamar their boundary.

This king having ſubdued his enemies, ſpent the laſt part of his reign in cultivating the arts of peace, reviſing the laws, and regulating the courts of juſtice. And, having reigned with great applauſe fifteen years, and upwards, died at Glouceſter, and was buried at Malmſbury. It was in this reign that Guy of Warwick is ſaid to have engaged the Daniſh giant Colebrand, and killed him.

Edmund

Edmund, the ſecond ſon of Edward the Elder, and brother of Athelſtan, the late king, ſucceeded to the crown in the month of November *, being then about eighteen years old. The firſt occurrence we meet with in this reign, is the invading Mercia by king Edmund, and his diſpoſſeſſing them of the cities of Leiceſter, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Darby; becauſe Anlaf, the Daniſh king of Northumberland, had made ſome incurſions into the Engliſh territories. So potent was Anlaf, king of Northumberland, that he advanced Southward as far as Northampton, whither king Edmund marched to oppoſe him; but the matter ended at length in a treaty, wherein they ſettled the boundaries of their reſpective kingdoms; and it was further agreed, that Anlaf ſhould be baptized, and king Edmund ſtand godfather to him. This peace, however, did not laſt more than two years, when king Edmund marched into Northumberland, and drove his godſon Anlaf out of that country, and afterwards reduced Cumberland, and made a ceſſion of it to Malcolm king of Scots, on condition he ſhould aſſiſt him in his wars. King Edmund afterwards reigning in peace, enacted ſeveral wholeſome laws and conſtitutions. But as he was entertaining ſome of the nobility on the feſtival of St. Auſtin, at one of his palaces in Glouceſterſhire, a no-

* Year of Chriſt, 940.

torious robber, whom he had baniſhed, coming into the aſſembly, the king was ſo provoked at his inſolence, that he ſeized him himſelf, and throwing him on the ground, the villain drew a dagger in the ſcuffle, and ſtabbed the king to the heart, and wounded ſeveral others in the company before he was killed. Thus died king Edmund, after a ſhort, but glorious, reign, of ſix years and ſix months, and was buried at Glaſtonbury. He left two ſons, namely, Edwi, and Edgar, very young. Whereupon Edred, the younger brother of Edmund, took upon him the adminiſtration of the government.

Edred was the third ſon of king Edward the Elder, and performed many glorious actions during his adminiſtration; and, particularly, we are told he ſubdued Northumberland, committing the government to an Engliſh earl for the future. Edred died ſoon after, of a languiſhing diſtemper; having had the adminiſtration of affairs about nine years and an half.

Edwi, the eldeſt ſon of king Edmund, was crown'd † at Kingſton upon Thames; and being a very beautiful youth, obtained the name of Edwi the Fair. He died a few years after and was buried in the new monaſtery of Wincheſter.

To Edwi ſucceeded his brother Edgar ‡, at ſixteen years of age. He is generally ſtiled

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* Yeat of Chriſt, 955. † Year of Chriſt, 959.

The

The Peaceable, from the uninterrupted peace he enjoyed during his whole reign. One great reaſon of which probably was, that he was generally better prepared for war than his predeceſſors, eſpecially at ſea, where he had ſuch large fleets as almoſt exceeds belief; for he was ſenſible he had little to apprehend from the Danes which were ſettled here, if he could prevent their being joined by their friends abroad. He equipped, therefore, three, ſome ſay four, large fleets, conſiſting of twelve hundred ſail each, of what burthen hiſtory does not inform us; it is probable that they were gallies, rowed with oars, of no very great bulk, it being impoſſible, at that time of day, to have manned ſo many large ſhips with mariners; and they ſeem to have been made, like thoſe of their enemies, the Danes, only for ſummer expeditions; in winter they rarely put to ſea, in thoſe days. But ſoon after Eaſter, every year, theſe fleets were commanded to their reſpective rendezvous; one to the eaſtward, not far from the Thame's mouth, another in the Weſt, a third in the Iriſh channel, and the fourth in the German ocean; and this king frequently ſailed in perſon in each of theſe fleets, as far as he had appointed them to cruize; and going from one to the other, ſurrounded the whole iſland in the ſailing ſeaſon. So extenſive was his dominion, tis ſaid, that not only the Scotch and Welſh were ſubject to

him, but great part of Ireland alſo; and that no prince before him ever deſerved ſo juſtly the ſtile of king of Great Britain. He had at once, we are told, no leſs than eight vaſſal kings in his court, namely, Kened king of Scotland, Malcolm king of Cumberland, Macquire king of the Iſles, and five kings of Wales, viz. Duſval, Griffith, Huwald, Jacob and Judehil, who being all at once in his court at Cheſter, he cauſed himſelf, 'tis ſaid, to be rowed by theſe eight kings, in a barge on the river Dee, while he ſteered the veſſel himſelf; and ſaid he would not have his ſucceſſors look upon themſelves to be kings of England, till they ſhould be thus attended by as many vaſſal kings.

King Edgar died on the eighth day of July, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, and ſeventeenth of his reign, and was buried in the abby of Glaſtonbury.

Upon the demiſe of Edgar, Edward, his eldeſt ſon, by Ethelfleda his firſt wife, ſucceeded to the crown by the appointment of his father, being then about fifteen years of age ‡. The adminiſtration of the government ſeems to have been almoſt entirely in the hands of the dowager-queen Elfrida. King Edward was treacherouſly murdered, in the nineteenth year of his age, and fourth of his reign, leaving no iſſue behind him.

‡ Year of Chriſt, 975.

Ethelred

Ethelred ſucceeded his brother Edward †, being about ten, or eleven, years of age. In the third year of this reign the Danes landed at Southampton, plundered the town and country, and carried off a great booty: afterwards they ravaged the iſle of Thanet, while another fleet of them appeared in the Iriſh ſea, and landing near Cheſter, deſtroyed the country thereabouts with fire and ſword. The following years Devonſhire and Cornwall ſuffered in the like manner; and the next year § the city of London was burnt down by accident. Amidſt theſe calamities civil diſſentions grew high; the king and the clergy were at open war, inſomuch that the biſhop of Rocheſter was beſieged in that city by his majeſty, with whom archbiſhop Dunſtan, and the regular clergy, were in confederacy; and Dunſtan ſent the king a threatning meſſage, bidding him beware of the vengeance of St. Andrew, patron of that city. But the king not being to be frighted in this manner, the archbiſhop thought fit to buy their peace with a ſum of money. For ſeveral years ſucceſſively the Danes continued to harraſs the Engliſh coaſt, and poſſeſſed almoſt all their ports and harbours; and the king being perpetually oppoſed by his clergy, and betrayed by his miniſters, whom they influ-

§ Year of Chriſt, 981. † Year of Chriſt, 979.

enced, found himself in no condition to resist the attacks of these foreigners; he proposed, therefore, to buy his peace of the Danes, till he could better establish his affairs at home; accordingly they agreed upon the sum of ten thousand pounds, on condition that the Danes should withdraw their troops; which was afterwards levied upon the subject, and obtained the name of Dane-gilt, and this is said to be the first tax the people of England was ever charged with‡: but many of the principal subjects of the kingdom, as well clergy as laity, refusing their quota at this time, and the king's generals and admirals betraying him from time to time, he found all resistance vain; and therefore, when the Danes returned again the next year, he raised a further sum of money to purchase his peace; and so from time to time. But, the Danes every year making higher demands than they had the former, this tax, or tribute, came, at length, from ten thousand, to forty-eight thousand pounds per annum.

This prince has born abundance of odium on account of this tribute, and obtained the name of The Unready; in that he was seldom prepared to meet the enemy in the field.

‡ Year of Christ, 993.

In

In theſe depredations of the Danes, the two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, it ſeems, were entirely deſtroyed *, and no exerciſes performed in them for a hundred years, and upwards; and the enemy proceeding to deſtroy all the country with fire and ſword, another ſum was raiſed to purchaſe a peace. The king alſo ſoon after married Emma, the daughter of Richard duke of Normandy, by which alliance he propoſed to ſtrengthen himſelf, if the Danes ſhould return again; and, that they might not meet with that aſſiſtance from their brethren who were ſettled here, which they uſed to do, he propoſed, 'tis ſaid, the extirpating and maſſacreing them all in one night, viz. on the 9th of July §; and accordingly orders were given, and kept ſo ſecret, aud executed ſo punctually, that not one of the Danes eſcaped, or was ſpared, on account of friendſhip, or relation, from one end of the nation, to the other.

However that matter was, it ſeems the foreign Danes returned again with greater numbers than ever, and to render themſelves as terrible as poſſible, deſtroyed all places whither they came with fire and ſword, as the ſureſt means to procure a conſiderable contribution for retiring; and their expecta-

* Year of Chriſt, 1000. § Year of Chriſt, 1002.

tions

tions were anſwered, for they carried off at this time near forty thouſand pounds, beſides what they had gottem by plunder. But the king, finding there was no end of their demands, reſolved, againſt their return to be provided for them; accordingly he iſſued his orders, that every three hundred and ten hides of land ſhould fit out a ſhip, and a great fleet was accordingly ſoon after brought to the general rendezvous at Sandwich; and now when the nation began to look upon themſelves as ſecure, the admirals to whom the charge of the fleet was committed, inſtead of performing their duty, fell out among themſelves, and ſome of them deſerted to the enemy, with a great part of the navy. The king being no better ſerved at land, the Danes returned, and ravaged the country with as little oppoſition as uſual, notwithſtanding the king had raiſed forces, levied money for their ſubſiſtance, and offered to command his troops in perſon; for his councils were conſtantly betrayed, and factions formed in his very court and army by the influence of the clergy, who hated him becauſe he would not be their tool,

Canterbury was taken by the Danes *, and moſt of the eccleſiaſtics, with their Archbiſhop, murdered; though it is ſaid the Danes had juſt before received forty-eight thouſand

* Year of Chriſt, 1012.

pounds

pounds not to moleſt the Engliſh: and beſides this ſum, twelve pence was levied upon every hide of land, for maintaining the forces that the Danes left behind to protect the kingdom againſt all other foreigners; which went alſo by the name of Dane-gilt, and was paid for many years after.

But notwithſtanding all the treaſure that had been raiſed to buy peace of the Danes, about Midſummer †, Swain king of Denmark landed at Sandwich with a powerful army, determining now to make an entire conqueſt of the nation, and being joined by the Engliſh Danes, and many of the diſaffected Engliſh, he over-run the whole kingdom, inſomuch that ſcarce any town held out againſt him, except London, where king Ethelred was in perſon, and bravely reſiſted his attacks; but Ethelred finding his affairs deſperate, ſent away his queen, and his two ſons Edward and Alfred, with his treaſure into Normandy, and ſoon after retired thither himſelf; whereupon the Engliſh in general ſubmitted to Swain, and acknowledged him king of England.

At Gainſborough the ſame year, in the middle of his guards, he was killed by ſome unknown hand.

† Year of Chriſt, 1013.

Canute,

Canute, the ſon of Swain, procured himſelf to be declared king of England ‡ by the Danes, upon the death of his father, but the Engliſh obſerving the tyranny of the Daniſh government, ſent into Normandy to invite over king Ethelred again, and he was received by the people ſoon after, with the moſt joyful acclamations imaginable; he ſurpriſed Canute, and defeated him, compelling him to return on board his fleet; whereupon Canute cut off the ears, noſes, and hands of the Engliſh hoſtages, and ſetting them on ſhore, ſailed to Denmark for a further reinforcement.

Canute returning to England § again with a prodigious fleet the next ſummer, with the kings of Sweden and Norway, his confederates, landed at Sandwich, and ſoon after gave the Engliſh a great defeat; for Ethelred was again betrayed by his general Edric, whoſe treachery being at length diſcovered, Edric thought fit to deſert over to the Danes, carrying a conſiderable body of troops with him; whereupon the Danes became maſters of the field, and plundered the country as uſual. In the mean time, king Ethelred was taken ſick, and died the twenty-ſecond of

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‡ Year of Chriſt, 1014. § Year of Chriſt, 1015.

April,

CANUTE.

BRITISH
11 FEB 69
MUSEUM

April ||, being buried in St. Paul's church in London.

Upon the death of Ethelred, Edmund, generally ſirnamed Ironſide, from his robuſt conſtitution, was recognized his ſucceſſor by the city of London, and ſome of the nobility aſſembled there. He was the third, but eldeſt ſurviving ſon of his father Ethelred, by his firſt wife: but the Daniſh intereſt was now ſo great, or their power ſo dreaded by the clergy and nobility, that being ſummoned to attend Canute at Southampton, they ſwore allegiance to him, and, it is ſaid, abjured the iſſue of the late king Ethelred. Canute, hereupon, ſet ſail with his fleet for the Thames, about Whitſuntide, in order to reduce the city of London. King Edmund, on the other ſide, moved into the Weſt of England, where his greateſt intereſt lay, to raiſe forces to ſupport his right to the crown; and Canute attacking the city of London in his abſence, met with a repulſe there. The Dane afterwards marched in perſon towards the weſt, and detached a conſiderable body of forces to meet his rival, and engage him before he ſhould have formed his troops, and the two armies engaged at Pen, near Gillingham in Somerſetſhire, where Edmund had the advantage. However, another battle was

|| Year of Chriſt, 1016.

fought

fought between them about Midſummer, at Sceorſtan or Sheciton, in Wiltſhire, or according to others, at Shireſtones, on the borders of Oxfordſhire, which would have been fatal to the Danes, if duke Edric and ſome other noblemen, with their forces, had not deſerted over to the Danes; but king Edmund notwithſtanding maintained his ground, till night put an end to the engagement.

Canute, a ſecond time marched towards London, and laid ſiege to it, while king Edmund was recruiting his forces in the weſt, but the king arrived ſoon enough to relieve the city: he afterwards engaged the Danes near Brentford, and defeated them. Duke Edric obſerving the ſucceſs of the king's affairs, found means to reconcile himſelf to him again, whom this good-natured prince, contrary to all good policy, was pleaſed to reſtore to his command in the army, of which he ſoon after found the ill effects; for having gained an advantage of the enemy, the traytor prevented the purſuit, when in all probability his majeſty would have driven his rival out of the kingdom. And at another battle at Aſhdown, or rather Aſſington, in Eſſex, where both parties had aſſembled their whole forces, and the Engliſh had all the reaſon in the world to expect a victory, the ſame treacherous Edric went over to Canute with his forces under his command, whereby he changed the fortune of the day, and the Engliſh

received

received the greateſt defeat they had known for many years. Four dukes, namely, Alfred, Godwin, Ulfketel, and Ethelwald, were killed in the field of battle, with many others of the nobility and clergy. King Edmund, however, did not yet deſpair of ſucceſs, but aſſembling another army, was about to offer battle again to the Danes, when Edric propoſed a diviſion of the kingdom between the two rivals, which was agreed to, the Weſtern part being aſſigned to Edmund, the reſt to Canute.

The king ſurvived this treaty but a very little while. He died about the feaſt of St. Andrew †, leaving iſſue two ſons, Edward and Edmund, and two daughters, Margaret and Chriſtian.

† Year of Chriſt, 1016.

CHAP. III.

Of the wars of England, *to* William I.

UPON the death of king Edmund, Canute I. or Cnute the Dane, who was already king of half the kingdom, eaſily got

got poſſeſſion of the whole †. After his coronation, he divided England into four parts; Mercia, Northumberland, Eaſt-Anglia, and Weſſex. He appointed three dukes, or governors, over the three firſt, reſerving the laſt for his own government.

Having ſettled his affairs here, he turned his thoughts to thoſe of his patrimonial dominions, in Denmark; which at this time was haraſſed by the Vandals; and having raiſed a conſiderable body of Engliſh forces, he tranſported them over to Denmark, under the command of earl Godwin, or Goodwin. The Vandals were the Norwegians ‡, who, under the command of Olaus, their king, had invaded Denmark. Harold, the brother of Olaus, a man of great courage and experience in warlike matters, had a joint command with him. Canute, had a favourable voyage to Denmark, and ſoon checked the progreſs of the invaders. Godwin, deſirous to ſignalize himſelf by ſome remarkable action, and commanding a ſeparate body, while every thing was in readineſs for a general engagement, drew off the Engliſh troops privately, and ſurpriſing the Norwegians, put them to a general rout; which next morning agreeably ſurpriſed Canute, who

† Year of Chriſt, 1016.

‡ According to Polydore Virgil.

met

met with a victory before he knew of a battle. Canute having checked both the Norwegians and Swedes, returned into England †.

North Wales, at this time, was governed by Lewellyn, but an Iriſh impoſtor, or as ſome ſay, a Scot, of mean birth, named Reyn, pretended to be the ſon of Meredyth ap Owen, a late prince of Wales. The ſouthern Welſh ſo far favoured his pretenſions, that he ſoon was put at the head of a conſiderable army, not ſo much out of regard to him, as out of hatred to the northern Welſh.

Lewellyn, having raiſed the forces of north Wales, advanced to Abergwilly ‡, where Reyn lay, being determined to give him battle. This being accepted with equal ardor, they both encouraged their men; but Lewellyn, conſcious of the impoſtor's baſeneſs, and that his ſoul was as mean as his blood, rode into the front of both armies, and calling out for Reyn, challenged him to ſingle combat, for daring to belye the blood of Britiſh princes. Reyn, appalled at his rival's courage, like a coward fled from the field. But notwithſtanding the daſtardly behaviour of the impoſtor, the battle continued with great fury, till at laſt, Lewellyn's great bravery over-

† Year of Chriſt, 1020.

‡ The mouth of the river Gwilly.

came

came all oppoſition. The ſouthern Welſh were defeated, Reyn was purſued ſo cloſely, that he hardly eſcaped; Lewellyn got great booty; and the Welſh ſubmitted, with peace and contentment, to the government of this brave prince.

About this time, Malcolm II. being king of Scotland, a large body of Danes landed at the mouth of the Spey, and advancing into Murray, deſtroyed it with fire and ſword. Malcolm did every thing that became him; he drew together his army; laid before them the faithleſneſs of the Danes, the important intereſt they themſelves had at ſtake, and endeavoured, by many arguments drawn from former ſucceſs, to animate them to a vigorous reſiſtance. This indeed rouzed his men, but ſo great was their fear of being thought cowards, that they became madmen, loſt their firmneſs, and attacked the Danes, rather with frenzy than with courage, and were themſelves cut to pieces; their king being ſo deſperately wounded as to be obliged to be carried out of the field. The Danes were conquerors, tho' not without great loſs. Such places as had hitherto held out againſt them, fell into their hands. They ſent their ſhips back to Denmark to fetch their wives and children, reſolving to ſettle in Murray, the faireſt province in Scotland. But whilſt they were rejoicing at their ſucceſs, and planning for further ſucceſs, Malcolm attacked them with great

ſpirit,

ſpirit, in a part of the country called Morthla. The Danes from their number, experience, and bravery, were conquerors at firſt. Malcolm loſt the nobleſt of his generals, whilſt, with great reſolution, he poſted himſelf in a defile, through which the Danes were to purſue their victory, determined on that ſpot to ſell his life, or ſecure the ſucceſs of the day. Here, with his own hand he performed wonders; and one of the Daniſh generals, who thinking the victory certain, had eaſed his head of the load of his helmet, being killed; the report of which ſpreading inſtantly through the Scottiſh army, the moſt cowardly among them took courage, while that of the brave, was redoubled, and Malcolm had the glory to wreſt victory out of the hands of his cruel enemy. However, the loſs of both parties was ſo great, that each ſtood on the defenſive the remaining part of the campaign; which, had it gone in favour of the Danes, muſt have opened a way to the entire conqueſt of Scotland. Sweyn, the Dane, ſenſible that his countrymen muſt there in time be deſtroyed, without a ſpeedy reinforcement, next ſpring, ordered Camus, one of his generals, to invade Scotland with a ſtrong army, both of veterans and new levies. But Malcolm acted with ſuch ſpirit and conduct, that Camus himſelf was killed, and every man of his army cut to pieces. Sweyn, unbroken by this calamity, ſent another army

into

into Scotland, with Canute at their head. Another bloody battle was fought, in which neither party prevailed; on which a peace was concluded.

But to return to England, where Canute reigned in peace, till he received intelligence that the Swedes had invaded his paternal dominions; upon this, the king departed with a great fleet for Denmark. His army was compoſed chiefly of Engliſh and Danes, and encountered by Ulf and Eglaf, two Swediſh generals, who defeated them in a bloody battle, and forced Canute to return to England the ſame year *. Canute engaged in no other war, till the deſigns he had privately carried on upon the kingdom of Norway, being ripe ‡, he ſailed thither with a ſquadron of fifty ſhips, and drove its unhappy prince from his throne; when the Norwegians ſubmitted to him, and he returned to England, being now king, not only of England, but alſo of Denmark, and part of Sweden. Nothing further in the life of this king, occurring ſuitable to the deſign of this work, I ſhall only add, that he died at Shaftſbury †, was buried at Wincheſter, and his eldeſt ſon being dead, was ſucceeded by his ſecond ſon, *Harold* I.

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* Year of Chriſt, 1025. ‡ Year of Chriſt, 1028.
† Year of Chriſt, 1035.

This prince, on account of his exceeding ſwiftneſs, was ſurnamed Harefoot. In his reign †, Lewellyn being ſlain by the ſons of prince Edwin, or Owen, pretenders to his throne, was ſucceeded by Jago, but in South Wales, one Rytheric ap Juſtin, ſeized upon the government, and held it by force. But Howell and Meredyth applying to the Iriſh-Scotch, were by them furniſhed with troops to recover their rights from their uſurper, whom they defeated and killed in battle. Seizing then upon the government, after a ſhort and unquiet joint reign, they were attacked by the family of the late uſurper, whom they likewiſe drove from the field, after a bloody fight.

But the next year, being attacked themſelves by the ſons of the late Lewellyn, prince Meredyth fell in the diſpute. The next year ‡, Griffith, the ſon of Lewellyn, invaded North-Wales. This prince, in the firſt year of his reign, fought with the Engliſh and Danes, at Croſsford upon Severn, and proved victorious; from thence he led his army to Lhanpadarnvawr, in Cardiganſhire, which he deſtroyed; and then penetrated into South Wales, where he drove Howel, the ſurviving ſon of Edwin, from

† Year of Chriſt, 1036. ‡ Year of Chriſt, 1037.

the throne, of which he took poſſeſſion, and then, laden with laurels, returned home.

The next year, Howel applying to Edwin, brother of Leofric, earl of the Mercians, then one of the moſt powerful ſubjects of the Engliſh government, he attacked Griffith, with a powerful army of Engliſh and Danes. But the Britiſh prince, bravely meeting them in the field, defeated the confederates in a pitched battle, and ſlew Edwin at Pincadair; Howel himſelf, with great difficulty eſcaped. Soon after Harold died ‡, when the Engliſh in vain turned their eyes on Edward, the ſurviving ſon of Ethelred, at that time in Normandy, but Canute II. or Hardicanute §, whoſe ſuccceſſion was aſcertained by an act of the ſtates, was called upon to aſſert his right, and the liberty of the Engliſh. Hardicanute ‖ upon this, fitted out a ſtrong fleet, which he ordered for England, while he himſelf repaired for Bruges, to concert meaſures with the queen Dowager, juſt at the time that Harold died.

Hardicanute gladly accepted of the invitation from the Engliſh, and, attended by a

‡ Year of Chriſt, 1039. § Guthrie.

‖ He obtained the name of Hardy, which by cuſtom became part of his name, from his ſtrong conſtitution.

pow-

powerful fleet and army, landed at Sandwich, in the month of June. As this prince's ſhort, and inſignificant reign affords ſcarcely any thing ſuitable to the main deſign of this work, it has a place here only for the ſake of avoiding a chaſm in the courſe of this hiſtory.

There is one incident, which as it makes for the honour of little men, I ſhall relate. Hardicanute had to his ſiſter, named Gunhilda, a princeſs of exquiſite beauty, who the emperor Henry III. married, but growing jealous of her, ſhe was at laſt accuſed of unfaithfulneſs to his bed. She had no other way to exculpate herſelf, but by a combat, according to the cuſtom of the times. The day appointed for this purpoſe being come, a gigantic champion for the accuſation, ſtept into the liſts, and, ſwaggering about like another Goliah, threw out his defiances againſt the princeſs, who wiſhed for a champion to defend her innocence. She had only one Engliſhman in her numerous retinue, called Mimecan, from his diminutive ſize; bred about her own perſon, and who, as her page, had been an occular witneſs to the purity of her converſation. As the princeſs was in vain looking for a champion, this little hero, ſupplying weakneſs with courage, and aiding courage by cool dexterity, with his ſword in his hand, advanced againſt his enormous antagoniſt.

The ſecurity of the bulky German proved his deſtruction; for, endeavouring rather to tread out his adverſary's life, than to fight with him, Mimecan was tall enough to reach the giant's hams with his ſword, and to cut them ſo, that his great body falling to the ground, the gallant youth gave him his death's wound; then dividing his head from his body, laid it at the feet of his lovely miſtreſs. The emperor now would gladly have received her again into his arms, but ſhe abſolutely refuſing, obtained a divorce, and concluded her life in privacy, innocence, and devotion.

As to Hardicanute, beſides his partiality for the Danes, he was ever craving ſupplies for his luxury, and in one year *, no leſs than twenty-nine thouſand and twenty-nine pounds were raiſed, beſides eleven thouſand and forty-eight, for the payment of the navy. But the reluctance to pay theſe taxes was ſo great, that the king was obliged to ſend out his hniſceorles †, to collect them. The city, and county of Worceſter, in particular, had recourſe to arms, to defend their liberties and properties, and ſlew two of the chief collectors. Hardicanute, fearful of the conſequence of this inſurrection, immediately ſent Leofric, earl of Mercia, Godwin, earl

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* Year of Chriſt, 1040. † Or houſhold troops.

of

of Eſſex, and Siward, his ſteward, three of the moſt powerful noblemen in his kingdom, to ſuppreſs this commotion. Theſe he directed to fall upon their lands with fire and ſword, to plunder and burn the city, to waſte their country, and to put all the male inhabitants to death.

But the rebels, apprehenſive of the conſequence of their defection, and unable to prevent it, on account of the inferiority of the number of their forces, to oppoſe thoſe of the king, had taken care to ſecure themſelves, by retiring into wilds and inacceſſible places; while the inhabitants of Worceſter ſeized upon, and fortified, a little iſland in the Severn, called Beveridge, reſolving to ſell their lives, or purchaſe their freedom. However, the king's generals punctually fulfilled his cruel orders, which they began to carry into execution on the twelfth of November, and continued till the evening of the ſixteenth. They then marched to attack the intrenchments of the Worceſter men; but met with ſuch a warm reception, that, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attacks, they were obliged to grant an honourable capitulation to the beſieged, who returned with ſafety to their own city, which they rebuilt, and in a ſhort time reſtored to double luſtre *. The next year †, the king died in

* Guthrie. † Year of Chriſt, 1041.

a debauch, as he was celebrating the nuptials of a Daniſh nobleman, and was buried at New Wincheſter; as he died without iſſue, he was ſucceeded by Edward III. the Confeſſor.

This prince obtained the throne by the intereſt of earl Godwin, upon a promiſe of marrying his daughter Editha ‡. Thus an end was put to the Daniſh line, and that of the Saxons reſtored. Several circumſtances afterwards concurring, the king and Godwin, came at laſt to an open rupture, upon which the latter, with his three ſons, retired to Flanders. In the mean time §, the Welſh, under Griffith, prince of Wales, attacked the Engliſh borders, which being but weakly defended by the Norman officers who commanded on that ſide, committed great ravages in the county of Hereford.

Harold and Leofwin, two ſons of earl Godwin, alſo ſailed up the Severn, and plundered the country, defeating ſeveral detachments of king Edward's forces, which were ſent to oppoſe them. Afterwards they ſailed round the Weſt of England, and joined their

‡ Who gave occaſion to this ſaying,
Sicut Spina Roſam, Godwinus Editham.
"As from the prickly ſtalk the fragant roſe,
"From Godwin ſo the fair Editha grows.

§ Year of Chriſt, 1052.

father

father, earl Godwin, who hovered about on the coaſts of Kent and Suſſex, with a ſquadron of armed veſſels, and put the court in a terrible conſternation. The Normans perſuaded the king to aſſemble his navy and land forces; but there appeared a general backwardneſs to the ſervice, and earl Godwin ſailed up the Thames, as high as London, and obliged the king to reſtore him and his ſon to their former poſts, and baniſh their enemies; earl Godwin did not long enjoy his reſtoration. For as he was at dinner with king Edward, who ſtrongly ſuſpected him of having murdered his brother Alfred, that prince's name being mentioned, the king looking with an angry frown upon Godwin; the latter, as he was putting a morſel in his mouth, proteſted his innocence in the ſtrongeſt terms, wiſhing that the morſel he was then to eat, might be his laſt, if he was guilty of ought, either againſt Alfred's life, or Edward's intereſt, and attempting to ſwallow the morſel, he fell down choaked, ſpeechleſs, and breathleſs, all means of recovery being ineffectual.

A little after *, the king ordered ten thouſand men to march into Scotland, attended by a great fleet, the whole under the command of Siward earl of Northumberland,

* Year of Chriſt, 1054.

and father to Malcolm, while Macduff repairing to Scotland, there raiſed all the royal party, who immediately joined with Malcolm. The tyrant Macbeth ‡, on the other hand, was not wanting to himſelf; though thus powerfully attacked by ſea and land, he made head againſt his enemies on both elements †. Beſides ſuch of the Scots, who were in his intereſt, he was aſſiſted by the Normans, who, upon their expulſion from England, had taken refuge, and had found a generous protection in Scotland. With theſe, he oppoſed the van-guard of the Engliſh army, commanded by Siward's ſon, whom he killed in battle.

When the news of his death came to his father, the brave old man diſcovered no other emotion, than by aſking, whether the wounds by which his ſon fell, where before or behind; being anſwered, "before;" then ſaid he "I am ſatisfied; for now I can give him a ſoldier's burial." Macbeth finding himſelf over-matched by the combined armies of Malcolm, and Siward, abandoned all the South part of his country, and betaking himſelf to almoſt inacceſſible faſtneſſes in the highlands, held out for ſome time. His forces, however, daily diminiſhing, through deſer-

‡ Who murdered king Duncan.

† Guthrie.

tion.

tion. or diſeaſe, he was ſurpriſed by Malcolm, who, after a ſhort reſiſtance, put his troops to the ſword. Upon this victory, Macbeth was forced out of the kingdom, and Siward, by the direction of king Edward, placed Malcolm upon the throne, who conſented to hold his dominions of the crown of England. This war is ſuppoſed to have laſted about two years, or near that time.

Much about this time, the Welſh, under their king Griffin, and Alfgar, a baniſhed Engliſh nobleman, made an inroad into England, and took and plundered Hereford, but earl Harold, earl Godwin's ſon, marching againſt them with an army, he had himſelf raiſed, put them to the rout, and drove them back into their own country; this gained him the affections of the Engliſh, who openly expreſſed their deſires that he might ſucceed to the crown of England. The Welſh renewing their incurſions, were again repulſed by Harold, and his brother Toſton, who obliged them to dethrone Griffin, and become tributary to England. But the Welſh reſtored him again, and renewed the war, but Harold marching to their frontiers, ſtruck ſuch a terror into them, that to procure a peace, they ſtruck off king Griffin's head, and ſent it to him. King Edward having lived to ſee the building of the church and monaſtery at Weſtminſter finiſhed and dedicated, died in

the twenty-fourth year of his reign †, and was ſucceeded by the earl of Godwin's ſon, Harold II.

William duke of Normandy, in the life-time of king Edward the Confeſſor, had indulged an expectation of ſucceeding to the crown of England, upon his death, encouraged thereto by a verbal promiſe, or will, of that prince, or rather by his own ambition. As this was his view, he had accordingly made preparations to effect that end, about the time of Edward's demiſe, and was highly provoked that Harold had, in violation of his oath, aſſumed the Engliſh crown.

At the ſame time, Toſton, who bore a mortal hatred to his brother Harold, being aſſiſted with ſome ſhips and troops, by the earl of Flanders, greatly infeſted the coaſts of England, plundered the Iſle of Wight, and then proceeded to Sandwich. Morcar, earl of Northumberland, was ſent by the king to oppoſe this invader; who, gaining intelligence of this, ſailed northwards to the coaſt of Lindſey, made a deſcent, and depopulated the country. But at laſt, being ſurpriſed by Morcar, and the earl of Cheſter, he was obliged to make a haſty retreat. Yet, not wholly quitting his intention, he ſailed for Scotland, to try if he could get any aſſiſtance,

† Year of Chriſt, 1065.

but

but not ſucceeding, he put to ſea again, to renew his attack upon England, with ſuch forces as he had. But being driven by a ſtorm upon the coaſt of Norway, he found Harfagar, king of that country preparing to invade Scotland. Toſton perſuaded him to to prefer an attack upon England, to that of Scotland.

Accordingly, about autumn, the king of Norway ſailed to the Engliſh coaſts, and, being joined by Toſton's ſquadron, ſailed up the Humber, landed their troops, and marched to York. Edwin and Morcar, not expecting their ſudden approach, had only a handful of rude, undiſciplined malitia, to defend the country, and were therefore ſoon defeated. This ſucceſs encouraged the invaders to beſiege the city of York, which they ſoon ſtormed, and put the inhabitants to the ſword. This greatly alarmed Harold, who haſtily marched his army from the ſouth to the relief of the Yorkſhiremen. However, the two invaders, apprized of his approach, had taken care to fortify their camp.

The ſituation of the country greatly contributed to their ſecurity, for the ſea was on the rear of their camp, on the left, was the bay of Humber, where their fleet rode at anchor; and their front and right, was defended by the river Derwent, over which lay a bridge, of which they were maſters. Harold

was

was ſenſible of all this, yet his courage was too great to fear them, and his army was no leſs readily diſpoſed to engage them. He therefore determined to attack them, even ſtrongly intrenched as they were; to do this, it was neceſſary to make himſelf maſter of the bridge * over the Derwent. A party of Norwegians guarded it, who defended it with great reſolution, but in the end were all cut to pieces, one excepted, who bravely withſtood the attack of the aſſailants, armed with his battle-ax, and killed forty Engliſhmen with his own hands. However, this was no diminution of the valour of the Engliſh, who were not then poſſeſſed of the ſame deſtructive weapons with their enemies. But to return to our foreign hero, he did not long enjoy his great ſucceſs, but was ſoon after baſely killed by one of Harold's men, who got into a boat under the bridge, and through a hole, which he either made, or found ready made to his hands, thruſt a ſpear up into his lower parts, and thus died this brave Norwegian, not in the leaſt to the honour of his murderer.

Harold now forced his way into the enemy's camp, when a long, bloody, obſtinate battle enſued. The Norwegians fought to

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* Probably Stanford-bridge, in the Eaſt riding of Yorkſhire.

defend their plunder, and Toſton, becauſe he deſpaired of pardon, from his greatly injured brother. The perſonal valour of Harold did much; he moſtly ſought the ranks were Harfagar and Toſton commanded, and at length, happily encountered the former, whilſt Toſton fell by a leſs noble hand. The death of theſe two commanders, diſpirited their troops, who were ſoon after routed, and many of them killed; upon which, the reſt capitulated. Thus Harold gained a great and glorious victory over theſe two deſperate enemies, in one day. The booty he gained was immenſe; the gold that was found being more than twelve young men could carry *. This victory was followed by the ſurrender of the whole Norwegian fleet. But the generous conqueror having engaged Olaus, Harfagar's ſon, and the earl of Orkney, by oath, never more to invade his kingdom, gave them one and twenty ſhips to carry away their wounded men.

But to return to William the conqueror; he, whilſt he was preparing, as already mentioned, to invade England, ſent ambaſſadors to Harold, to require him to deliver up the crown to him, and in caſe of refuſal, to charge him with breach of oath, and to declare war againſt him. Harold returned for

* According to Abraham Bremenſis.

anſwer,

anſwer, that the duke had no right to the crown, that the oath was extorted from him, and therefore not binding, and that he would defend his right againſt all oppoſers. The duke, upon the receipt of this anſwer, haſtened his preparations for the invaſion of England; whilſt Harold was no leſs careful to prepare to oppoſe him. He fitted out a large fleet, and raiſed a numerous army; and now waited for the coming of the Duke; he did ſo a conſiderable time; and no enemy appeared. It ſeems, that this delay of the duke's was occaſioned, by his having given orders for diſbanding his forces, a little before he heard of Harfagar and Toſton's invaſion.

But whatever was his reaſon for having ſo done, he once more prepared for the invaſion, embarked his troops, ſet ſail, and, after having been ſome time delayed by contrary winds, landed on the Engliſh ſhore †, nine days after Harold had gained his great victory over the Norwegians. The place where he landed, was Pevenſey, now called Pemſey, in Suſſex. Here he built a fort to ſecure a retreat, in caſe of need, though according to ſome hiſtorians, he burnt all his ſhips, or at leaſt ſent them back, that his men being deprived of all

† Sept. 29, 1066.

hopes

hopes of a retreat, might fight the more reſolutely. From hence he marched, keeping cloſe by the ſhore, to Haſtings. At this place he built a very ſtrong fort, and waited the approach of the enemy. Harold, ſuppoſing the Normans would hardly come in the winter, but rather wait till ſpring, was buſy in the north, ſettling the diſorders that the invaſion of the Norwegians had there occaſioned. But receiving information of the arrival of this formidable enemy, he made what haſte he could to London. Here the nobility immediately attended him, promiſing all the aſſiſtance in their power. When he came to review his army, he found that the loſſes he had ſuſtained in the late battle, and the deſertion of many of his men, had greatly reduced his army. However, he got together what forces he had remaining, and with theſe he marched till he came within ſeven miles of the enemy, he there pitched his camp, being determined to attack the Norman army. The duke, aware of his intention, moved a little forward, to a more convenient ſpot, that he might draw up his army to the better advantage, and there reſted all night, praying to God for ſucceſs; whilſt the Engliſh imprudently indulged themſelves in ſinging and carouſing, as if they had already got the victory.

The

The important day was now come †, a day memorable to England, for the greateſt events that ever happened to it. Both parties were brave and reſolute, and eager for battle, which now began with no little fury. The long-bows of the Normans greatly annoyed the Engliſh, who were unuſed to them, and threw them into great diſorder. However, they recovered themſelves, and renewed the attack with great vigour, and forced the enemy to give way. They owed this advantage chiefly to their ancient weapons, the bills. The Normans, though they exerted their utmoſt, were unable to break the ranks of the Engliſh. But at laſt, the duke had reſource to this ſtratagem, he ordered his men to retreat, as if they intended to fly. This deceived the Engliſh, and encouraged them to follow the retreating enemy with too much eagerneſs; by which they broke their own ranks, when the Normans ſuddenly ſtopped, and by a diſcipline they were accuſtomed to, preſently fell into their proper ranks, attacked the diſordered Engliſh, and a terrible ſlaughter enſued. The king did all that an experienced general could do, to rally his men, and with ſo much ſucceſs, that he drew them up on a riſing ground, where he ſtrengthened them with ſome flying troops. The Nor-

† Oct. 14; Harold's birth day.

mans

mans, by the duke's orders, vigorouſly renewed the attack, but were oppoſed with ſo much bravery, that they were unable to break the Engliſh ranks, and ſuffered a very great loſs. The battle, which begun at ſeven in the morning, laſted, till the approach of night, victory as yet not having declared for either party. As darkneſs was now likely ſoon to put an end to the conteſt, the duke was reſolved, if poſſible, that the fate of the day ſhould be in favour of the one or the other. He therefore made another vigorous attack, in which Harold was unhappily ſhot into his head, this at once deſtroyed the courage of his men, who now fled, purſued by the Normans, as long as they had light to do ſo; and great numbers were killed. Two of the king's brothers, Garth, and, Lewin, were ſlain, and the Normans obtained a complete victory †.

The loſs of the Engliſh was very great; that of the Normans about ſix thouſand. As the Normans had prayed for ſucceſs before the battle, they now returned thanks to God after it, the whole army falling down upon their knees, with the duke at the head. In the morning the Normans buried their own

† This deciſive memorable battle was fought near *Heathfield* in *Suſſex*, in the place where now ſtands the town of *Battle*, ſo called from it.

dead,

dead, the duke ſuffering the peaſants to do the ſame by the Engliſh.

The next thing the duke did was undertaking the ſiege of Dover, that, at the worſt, he might be ſure of a retreat, and a ſafe place to remain in if neceſſary, till he could receive a reinforcement from Normandy. The conſternation of the Dover men, was ſo great, that they quickly ſurrendered. The duke ordered the fortifications of it to be made ſtronger, and waited himſelf a few days, to ſee the works forwarded, and then ſet out with his army for London, the inhabitants of which were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, at the news of his victory, and in their confuſion, could determine upon nothing but ſhutting their gates. The conqueror had now reached Southwark, where he lay encamped for ſome days, willing to ſee if the Londoners would voluntarily ſubmit to him.

Edwin and Morcar took this opportunity to perſuade the citizens to make a ſally upon the Normans; but their unequal force was too eaſily repulſed; and only ſerved to provoke the duke to more vigorous methods. However, as he thought a ſiege might be tedious, and inconvenient to his army, in their preſent circumſtances, he reſolved to take advantage of the conſternation which reigned in the city, and reduce them rather by terror than force. With this view, he poſted himſelf

ſelf at Wallingford, and ſent out detachments to plunder the country, to deprive the citizens of their proviſions, and at the ſame time burnt Southwark to the ground. The two earls ſtill continued to do all that they could in favour of Edgar, king Edward's ſon, but the clergy declaring for the duke, with the concurrency of many of the citizens, the earls retired to the North; and immediately after, the archbiſhops, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and Edgar himſelf, went over to the duke at Berkhamſtead, and were ſoon followed by other perſons of diſtinction. The city of London ſtill held out, but at laſt, upon the approach of the duke, the keys of it were carried to him. A deputation was afterwards ſent to make a tender of the crown to him, he heſitated at firſt, but afterwards accepted of it, and was crowned at London on Chriſtmaſs day ‡, having previouſly cauſed a fort to be built, which he garriſoned with Normans, not daring, as yet, to place an entire confidence in the Londoners. The example of the capital city was followed by the whole kingdom, which immediately acknowledged William for their king.

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‡ Year of Chriſt, 1066.

End of the FIFTH VOLUME.